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Pro-Slavery.

From the Western Continent.

CONGRESSIONAL NUISANCES.

It is truly disgusting to observe the pertinacity with which certain black-hearted Abolitionists obtrude their insulting sentiments in the debates in Congress. We are not without toleration for the honestly entertained opinions of others, however much they may be opposed to our own views and feelings. We could listen patiently to an argument, however absurd, if we believed the speaker to be sincere, and actuated by honest motives; but to see the proceedings of the National Legislature continually interrupted and retarded by the introduction of abolitionism into the discussion of every motion, resolution, or bill, however disconnected from the subject, is exceedingly provoking. It is a great pity that some measures cannot be adopted to prevent such a waste of the time of Congress.

Of late, no question can be discussed in the House, but some Abolitionist makes it a pretext for insulting that body with his disgusting twattle about Slavery. PALFREY, ASHMUN, and GIDDINGS, seem to have determined that nothing shall be done, that is not marred by the introduction of abolitionism.—Not satisfied with having delayed the passage of the French Resolutions, Mr. PALFREY, on Tuesday last, proposed a reconsideration of the vote, in order that he might introduce the following amendment, the design of which will be readily understood by the reader:

"That no despotism is more effectual than that which exists under the semblance of popular institutions, and that a great nation, emancipated from the control of an oligarchy, of 200,000 voting citizens, is entitled to the congratulations of every friend of freedom."

He then proceeded with a long tirade, made up of the usual abolition slang, in which he took occasion to remark upon the political equality and privileges of the blacks in Massachusetts. He boasted that his State legalized marriage with the blacks, and felicitated himself on the honour of having, as Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, commissioned a respectable member of the bar as a magistrate, who was as black as his own coat. Not long since, a coloured man had been elected from Townsend, in his State, to the State Legislature, but who, owing to his extreme *modesty*, did not take his seat, otherwise he might have been chairman of an important committee. He spoke of the intellectual character of black children in the public schools. There was, he said, not long since, in Harvard University, a *charming boy*, who bid fair, had not God in his mysterious Providence taken him away, to rival the highest there—to equal not only his own son, but a son, too, of the gentleman from South Carolina. He should have felt disposed to disown his own son, had he not treated him with the respect due his merits—as an equal.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Tennessee, inquired whether, if that boy had lived, he would have been willing to introduce him into his family—that he should become an associate of his daughter—her associate in marriage?

Perhaps, apprehending too many sable suitors for his daughter's hand, he hesitated to give an affirmative answer in so public a manner. After a little hesitation, he acknowledged that there were conventional considerations, which determine the question of association in private life. He would introduce no one to his family, who, from these conventional considerations, would be disagreeable to them.

Such, reader, is the irrelevant "gabblement" inflicted from day to day on the House, by these fanatical agitators.

If anything could add to the ridiculousness of such proceedings, it is the well-known fact that the blacks, for whom so much wordy sympathy is manifested, far from enjoying superior privileges at the North, are actually worse treated in their social relations, and denied many privileges enjoyed by them without restraint at the South. There are occasional exceptions. For effect, negroes are sometimes petted and pampered, and carried round the country as lecturers; but, for the most part, they are ill-treated, despised, abused, and trampled under foot—driven out of all lucrative pursuits, and compelled to live by crime, or starve in miserable cellars, with no more consideration or sympathy than if they were dogs. If the condition of any class of human beings ought to excite the compassion of the truly philanthropic, it is that of the poor creatures who inhabit the miserable hovels and cellars of the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and New-York. Precluded from all the pursuits of life that are worth monopolizing by the white men, despised and ill-treated by the whites with whom their miserable avocations bring them in contact, they lose the little spirit and ambition they brought with them to the free States, and become inmates of work-houses and prisons, or sink down into the most degraded and miserable state of existence that can be possibly imagined.

Our readers are perhaps not aware that negroes are not permitted to drive drays or carts, nor even to work in the streets as scavengers, in the Northern cities. In New-York, even the menial office of a public porter is monopolized by white foreigners who have a vote in the election of the municipal authorities. Notwithstanding all the talk of equality, a blacky, as they call him, is not allowed by public opinion, to ride in an omnibus; and we know the fact that a respectable and wealthy black man was brutally kicked out of a public omnibus in Broadway, in which he had taken a seat when too unwell to walk to his home. This is the boasted equality of the North. Heaven pity the poor negro who exchanges for it the protection of a kind master at the South, even though, as an inducement, he is proffered the hand of the honourable Mr. PALFREY's daughter.

From the New-York Herald.

THE SLAVE ABDUCTION EXCITEMENT.

We never heard of a more outrageous or audacious violation of constitutional and personal rights, than that perpetrated by a gang of Abolitionists and kidnappers in Washington, D. C. a few days since. It seems from the published accounts of this high-handed and disgraceful affair, that a captain of a sloop, belonging to New Jersey, was employed to entice away from their homes a large party of negroes, male and female, the property of our fellow-citizens in Washington, and to convey them to some Northern and free State, from whence it was supposed they would easily be transported to Canada.—Happily, however, the villany did not succeed, and the whole party, the captain and his crew, the cargo of negroes, and the vessel itself, were captured and taken back to the place from which they started, and are now safely and securely lodged in jail.

There can be but one opinion entertained of this daring and high-handed outrage; and we hope the parties engaged in it, and their aiders, abettors, and employers, if they can be arrested, will be made to suffer the penalty which they so justly merit. A pretty state of things has come to pass, truly, if a set of brainless, one-idea fanatics in the North are to be permitted to endanger the peace and comfort of our fellow-citizens, in defiance of the Constitution and their own laws, with impunity—that Northern vessels cannot visit the South without being employed to carry away our neighbour's property. We trust that an example will be made of all concerned in this proceeding, and a penalty inflicted such as will act as a terror to all who may be inclined to act a similar part hereafter. It is such fanatics as these who have succeeded in producing ill feeling between the North and the South, by their violent and unlawful proceedings, conducted for the *pseudo* philanthropic purpose of befriending the slave, but for their own selfish and traitorous ends—the same men who agitate the subject for no other purpose than a selfish one, and who, if they themselves were slave-owners, would be the most cruel and depraved of taskmasters.

By the terms of the Federal Compact, the Southern States can manage their own domestic affairs as they please. If they choose to continue Slavery, they can do so; and it is impudence and impertinence to interfere with their choice. They have a perfect right, too, to make laws for the protection of their slave property; and when those laws are violated, and the violators arrested, we trust the fullest penalty will be inflicted. Let them make a few examples in this way, and their moral effect will keep these fanatics at home, in the Northern States, where their ravings excite only ridicule.

From the New-York Morning Star.

THE SLAVE ABDUCTION AT WASHINGTON.

As we expected, this nefarious act has given rise to a violent and painful conflict in Congress, calculated at this time, and at any time, to create the most unpleasant consequences. It grew out of the fact of Mr. Giddings (the great abolition leader in Congress) visiting the prison, and tendering his professional services to the men who stole the slaves. The consequences to the poor negroes of this abduction, have been painful in the extreme. They were house servants, holding most comfortable situations, and all their wants abundantly supplied, but now they have been sold to go to Texas or Louisiana, and there to toil on the plantations; and this, the Abolitionists will say, is ameliorating their condition! We are glad to learn that the mob committed no excesses at Washington. They threatened to tear down the *New Era* office, an abolition paper, but such a course would have been an unjustifiable outrage upon the laws, and only increased the hostility toward the South. Slavery is a great moral and social evil, but the South never encouraged or pursued the Slave Trade. We, in this city, and down East, sent our ships to Africa, imported slaves, and sold them at the South; and now we steal the descendants of those very slaves, from men who purchased and paid us the money for them. This is a double, a treble wrong. The New England States imported and sold the slaves at the South, and now applaud the fanatics who go thither and steal them. There must be an end to this, or we shall be in continual excitement and war with the South. The debate in Congress on this subject was one of the most painful, personal, and sectional, we ever heard.

Selections.

From the Mississippian.

A REMARKABLE CASE.—CONDUCT OF A MAGNANIMOUS PLANTER.

A bill has passed both houses of the Legislature, for the benefit of Emily Thompson, of Jefferson county. The case of this young woman presented some remarkable and interesting features, and exhibited the magnanimity of a Southern planter.

It appears that Emily Thompson is a native of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia; that her father was a white man, and her mother of the mixed blood of the white and Indian races. When she was about ten years old her mother died, and in a few months thereafter her father died also, and she was at that early age left destitute. She had heard her father, in his life-time, speak of an only brother, who resided in New Orleans; and to the end that she might gain the protection of the only relative she knew of in the wide world, a humane captain of a trading vessel carried her to New Orleans; but on arriving there she could hear nothing of her uncle, and she returned with the vessel to Alexandria. Upon her arrival there she was kidnapped and carried on board of another vessel bound for New Orleans, and placed in company with a number of slaves about being taken to a Southern market for sale. On arriving at New Orleans she was sold to Ballard & Franklin, negro traders. She remained in their possession until she was fourteen years old. When persons proposed to purchase her whose appearance she did not like, she told them the story of her wrongs, and thus turned them away. At length, Col. Philip B. Harrison, of Jefferson county, Mississippi, whose appearance and character she approved, became her purchaser, without being aware of her true condition. As soon as informed of it, Colonel Harrison determined to pocket the loss of the purchase money, and to restore her to her rights. To this end he sent her to Ohio, and emancipated her according to the laws of that State. She, however, being a stranger in Ohio, returned to her generous protector, and has remained at his house until she is now twenty-five years old. The testimony showed that she was intelligent and had some education, and had essentially aided her protector in keeping his accounts and in the general management of his affairs, and particularly that no negro blood courses in her veins. Her protector, whose age and character are both venerable, now desires to bestow upon her a legacy, to place her beyond the merciless caprices of fortune after his death; and the Legislature was asked to declare her a free woman, so that she might not suffer harassment in the enjoyment of her rights of liberty and property

The petition has been granted, and the generous intentions of the magnanimous protector of the unfortunate girl will now be consummated.

We doubt whether the fanatics of the North will credit the fact that so much generosity and nobleness of heart as has been exhibited by Col. Philip B. Harrison exists in the bosom of a Southern planter.

We might hope that there is not a slaveholder at the South mean and base enough to hold a poor, free *white*, girl as a slave, because some scoundrel had found him fool enough to part with his money for her, were we not called upon to admire the *not doing* such an act especially noble and generous. The fanatics have not much cause to grumble at the Mississippian setting up "so high a standard of Southern "generosity and nobleness of heart."—[ED. STANDARD.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVES—DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

On the 20th instant, Mr. Palfrey, in the House of Representatives, offered the following Preamble and Resolution, upon which a long debate ensued upon the question of privilege; a debate on the main question afterward arose, all of which, that will be interesting to our readers, we copy from the National Intelligencer:

Whereas, common report has represented to members of this House, that a lawless mob has assembled within the District of Columbia, on each of the two nights last past, and has committed acts of violence, setting at defiance the laws and constituted authorities of the United States, and menacing individuals of this body and other persons residing in this city; Therefore—

Resolved, That a select Committee of five members be appointed to inquire into the facts above referred to; and to report the facts with their opinion whether any legislation is necessary or expedient in the premises; and that they further have leave to sit during the sessions of the House.

Mr. *Venable* obtained the floor. It was with extreme and deep reluctance, he said, that he felt himself compelled to approach the discussion of the question which had been thrown before them today. He had taken his seat at the opening of this session, cherishing the fondest hopes that the mere party questions and policies which divided us as Whigs and Democrats would be the subjects which would come before them; that they might meet, quietly meet on the same platform as citizens of the country they all dearly loved, and protected by the ægis of the Constitution they all venerated. He had come here with these fond hopes, but he had been here but a few days before he felt that those hopes were to be blighted; he saw, amidst the forbearance of the South, that spirit of fanaticism which would walk with a lighted torch into a magazine; he saw that fanaticism which would authorize men to right what they considered a wrong, without ever thinking of the wrong they would inflict; that spirit of fanaticism which would never stop, short of heaven or hell; which knew no middle ground, and which, when once fastened on a man's heart, led him to trample on all that is sacred and holy. He saw that hope blighted; that no subject could be introduced into this House, even a resolution of congratulation of a people throwing off the yoke of a tyrant and establishing freedom for themselves, without having this firebrand thrown into this House. He saw the South persecuted, taunted, harassed, held up to odium to the world—continually held up—until he had received from his own district and section of country urgent appeals. Are we to be made odious, are our institutions continually to be dragged before the public, by the fanatic and the hypocrite to taunt and sneer at, and are our dearest rights to be abandoned by those who represent us? Is there no man from the South who will stand up and say to them what should be said? We are in the humble way he would vindicate the rights and maintain the cause of those who had sent him here; and he would never fail to rebuke fanaticism and denounce hypocrisy, in the man, and in those who acted with him, who said he wanted to keep the knife of the slave near his master's throat; and that when the slave flees to Ohio, and there slays his master in attempting to reclaim him, he would call him a clever fellow; and that there was no law there to punish him. It was a libel upon the institutions of that State. He had examined the laws of Ohio, and he found that if a man did a lawful act and another killed him when engaged in it, they called him a murderer. The Constitution of the United States provided for the reclaiming of fugitive slaves, and the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that that clause of the Constitution so far executed itself as that the master or his agent had the right to pursue his slave and retake him. If, then, the slave killed him, he killed him doing a lawful act.

When he heard such declarations made on this floor by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. GIDDINGS;) when their slaves were invited to run away, and were told, if you kill your master in attempting to retake you, you are clever fellows; when the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. PALFREY,) declared that there were thousands of slaves in New Bedford who had paid for themselves by their heels; and when, in the face of these declarations, a ship from a Northern State came to this District and took off a ship load of slaves, to pay for themselves by their heels also, it was time to meet this matter as became a Representative from the South. He loved the Union; it had cost him and his much; there was not a battle-field, from Saratoga to Camden, but had drank the life-blood of some of his family and relatives; but love it as he did, he hailed dissolution with pleasure and joy, if they were continually to be taunted by fanatics and hypocrites; if their wives and little ones were to be assassinated and destroyed by intermeddling men with hearts black as hell.—This was the feeling of his heart; he could say nothing less. The South asked no favours; and if gentlemen supposed that because they had said nothing until driven to it by their unhallowed machinations and intrigues, that they were afraid to investigate the question, they had mistaken the South altogether.

He felt, and he would here express, most profound obligations to his Northern and Western Democratic friends, who had stood by them in defence of the rights of the South to the number of twenty-five or thirty, in a vote which had recently been taken, while on the other side not a Northern or Western man had stood by Southern rights. He classified the Abolitionists of the North in two divisions: one a set of fanatics, who, though possessing no genuine social feelings, were honest men, and the other, men who made use of them to secure seats in Congress and power and elevation for themselves, who stirred up the strife; vile hypocrites, who went around to the factories and Sunday schools, getting children and women to sign petition on matters with which they had no concern, to bring them to Congress.—Such miserable subterfuges, such vile and wicked resorts, disgraced humanity.

He denied that Slavery was either a moral, social, or political evil; they had nothing to do with it; it was a matter which belonged to the South. He asked gentleman if the agonizing, heart-rending cry of the slave in the middle passage, kidnapped from Africa, had ever arisen from ships from North Carolina? No; Massachusetts and Rhode Island could tell us about it; it had rung from their vessels, and that inhuman traffic had been a source of their wealth; almost everything in the town of Newport, Rhode Island, had been made out of it, and Rhode Island had been represented in the other end of the Capitol by one of these slave-dealers, for it had so been charged upon that floor. The North had brought this institution upon them; the descendants of those who had landed at Plymouth, and of Roger Williams, had sold them their slaves and pocketed the money. And now they were enlisted in a crusade against their property; and they had recently undertaken to kidnap and decoy away seventy-five in one vessel from this District; and gentlemen came here, and with long faces complained that the people of this city had risen to defend their rights. He had heard of a member of Congress who had gone yesterday to the jail for the purpose of giving counsel to these felons, who were caught *flagrante delecto!* He had heard that a member of this House had volunteered his services—had gone to the jail for the purpose of throwing the weight of his character and influence and talents in defence of men who had plundered the owners of the District of their slaves, and were caught with the negroes in their possession!

Mr. *Giddings* asked to be permitted to explain, and, the floor being yielded, said, if the gentleman alluded to him, he would say unhesitatingly—it was due to the gentleman from North Carolina that he should say to him, and the House, and the country, most distinctly, that he did visit the prison yesterday. He did so in the character of a man, as well as a member of this House; he said to the keeper of the prison, who so far as he knew, behaved entirely gentlemanly, that he came there to say to those men who were incarcerated under this charge, that they should have counsel provided for them. The keeper of the prison heard every word he uttered—that he had brought with him a gentleman who would serve as their counsel; that he did it for the purpose of protecting their legal rights, so that upon their trial they might have the laws of the land dealt out to them as they were to other people; that he was persuaded no illegal violence would be used. For that purpose, and from his own promptings of humanity, he had visited them to give them this information. Now let gentlemen say what they pleased.

Mr. *Gayle*—Was the gentleman's object to reward these men and approve their course? Or was it mere benevolence to defend men who could not defend themselves?

Mr. *Giddings* was glad the gentleman from Alabama had put to him that question. He had gone there to say to those men, that no mob violence should take their lives; that his influence, and the aid of counsel, and the law should save them from a barbarous mob. He had gone there from the promptings of humanity; he had never seen or heard of them, or known anything of them, before.

Mr. *Gayle*—Did not the gentleman go there for the purpose of encouraging these people?

Mr. *Johnson*, of Arkansas, rose simultaneously with Mr. Gayle, and desired to ask the gentleman from Ohio one question.

Mr. *Giddings* expressed a willingness to answer questions which might be propounded.

Mr. *Venable*, however, resumed the floor, as his time was so rapidly running away. He would ask the gentleman from Ohio why it was so necessary to go to these men in jail and assure them they should be safe from the mob? Did not every man know that they were in no danger when safely lodged there? It was a work of supererogation. The gentleman was careful to visit those who had been caught in stealing and carrying away slaves; had he gone to see the poor burglar, the felon who was confined in jail for other crimes? No! The sympathies of his heart were drawn out to nothing there but these seventy-five negroes, and the men who had stolen them!

Mr. *Giddings*—Does the gentleman want me to answer that question?

Mr. *Venable* declined to give way, and after further remarks, moved an amendment to the resolution to make the committee consist of nine members instead of five, and that they be elected by ballot instead of being appointed by the Speaker.

Mr. *Haskell* (the floor being yielded) desired to ask the gentleman from Ohio two questions, and that the gentleman would give him, as far as he should find it convenient, a categorical answer: the first was, whether he justified those slaves who had lately made an attempt to escape from their owners in the District of Columbia in that attempt?

Mr. *Giddings*, (addressing the Speaker)—Have I the floor to reply?

The *Speaker*—Does the gentleman from North Carolina yield the floor to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. *Venable* assented.

Mr. *Giddings* said to the question which had been put to him, whether he justified the slaves who had left their masters in the District of Columbia in pursuit of their liberty, he could have no hesitation in answering before an assembled universe. He held as did our fathers in 1776, that all men are born equal, and that to protect their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Governments are framed among men. Now, believing that mankind as they came from God, were equal, he had ever been taught by his fathers—and here he would say to the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Venable,) that he (Mr. G.) boasted not that his fathers fought for liberty. Why did not the gentleman himself fight for it? Before he assailed him (Mr. G.) let him put himself *rectus in curia*——

Mr. *Houston*, of Delaware, rose to a point of order.

Mr. *Giddings* begged not to be interrupted until he had finished the answer to the gentleman's question.

The *Speaker*—The gentleman from Ohio will give way; the gentleman from Delaware rises to a point of order.

Mr. *Houston* stated his point to be, whether, upon a preamble and resolution stating that a member of this House had been menaced by persons out of this House for his participation, or alleged participation, in certain civil and criminal transactions, it was competent for his friend from Tennessee to put the question to the gentleman from Ohio whether he justified this act?

Mr. *Giddings*—I take no exception to the question.

The *Speaker* replied to Mr. Houston that the gentleman from Ohio was not obliged to answer any question, but that, in the wide range allowed to the debate, it was certainly competent for the gentleman from Tennessee to put the question, and for the gentleman from Ohio to answer it if he pleased.

Mr. *Giddings* (resuming) remarked that he saw gentlemen from the South were excited on the subject, and he might become excited. But it was a beautiful question, and if the doughfaces would only not interfere they would have a fine fight.

He was stating his views (he continued) on the rights of humanity, and he said to the gentleman from Tennessee that he held precisely with the fathers of 1776, to whom he had alluded. He held the principle for which the gentleman's fathers and his contended at Bunker Hill and Yorktown; he held to the principle on which this Government was based for its support—that man was free and equal; and that he who attempted to interfere between his God and himself, to interfere with his God-given rights, did it at his peril. He held that he who stepped between him and his God, and attempted either to rob him of his life or liberty, did it at his peril, and so far as God and nature had bestowed on him the power, he should not do it. He held that every human who came into the world and breathed the air God had created, came into it with this right; and he who attempted to interfere with it did so at his peril. He held that there never was a more just and righteous retribution than was inflicted upon the Africans in 1804, when Decatur and Somers went there, and when these men who enslaved their fellowmen were made themselves to bite the dust. There never was a more glorious cause to fight for; nor would he ask for a more glorious death than to die in just such a cause. He held that it was right, and he held that any man when he enslaved his fellow-man—when the hand of power was brought to bear on his God-given rights—his "inalienable rights," (to use the words of our fathers,) had the right to defend that liberty, and, to come down to the gentleman's specific question—

Mr. *Haskell*—I am very glad to hear you reach it.

Mr. *Giddings*, (continuing his sentence,) I say that the slaves of this District, when they felt the hand of oppression bearing on them, possessed before the universal world and before God himself, the right to free themselves by any means God has put into the power——

Mr. *Haskell*—The gentleman has answered that question. I am satisfied.

Mr. *Giddings*, (retaining the floor,) I am not. I want to finish my answer.

Mr. *Haskell*—Inasmuch as the gentleman has justified this attempt of these slaves to escape from their rightful owners, I call on him to know whether he justifies the thieves who stole them?

Mr. *Giddings*—I do not know that there were any thieves.

Mr. *Haskell*—The men, then, the individuals, the parties who were engaged in this kidnapping?

Mr. *Giddings*—I say, unhesitatingly, where laws are in force; where legal constitutional laws of the land enforce penalties on such action, they are to be obeyed. I am not permitted to interfere with the rights of the people of this District, because I owe allegiance to my Government, and he who interferes does it at his peril. There can be no difference between the gentleman and myself on that subject.

Mr. *Haskell*—Then do I understand the gentleman to justify these men?

Mr. *Giddings*—I say that those who did it, did it at their peril.

Mr. *Haskell*—Does the gentleman condemn these individuals?

Mr. *Giddings*—I say unquestionably, if they did it they violated the law.

Mr. *Haskell*—Does the gentleman consider it a violation of law?

Mr. *Giddings*—Unquestionably, if they aided the slaves in escaping. I am not very conversant with the laws of this District, though I have had occasion to look into them some. I understand it is a penal act in this District. Now, it is wrong to violate this law, because in entering society we bind ourselves to keep the laws which are constitutionally enacted.—There is a legal crime——

Mr. *Haskell*—Was there any moral crime?

Mr. *Giddings*—I do not believe there is the least moral crime on earth in maintaining the rights God has given me.

The debate was continued on the 21st. Such portions of it as touch upon the subject of Slavery, we copy, omitting the remarks of the several speakers on the question of privilege, which was ostensibly before the House.

After the usual preliminaries:

Mr. *Inge* rose and desired permission of the House, he having obtained the consent of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Stanton,) to correct an error in the report of his remarks made yesterday, as published in the National Intelligencer this morning.

There being no objection made, he said that in the report of his remarks of yesterday, in the Intelligencer of this morning, the following passage occurs:

"If it was true that illicit efforts had been made by members of that House to set free, negro slaves, the property of citizens of this community, then those who made them were accessories *after the fact* to a felony.

This report (said Mr. I.) is inaccurate in this: I referred to "illicit efforts" made by members of the House to liberate the slave-stealers now in custody for the perpetration of a felony, and not to the negro slaves, as the reporter supposed. I take pleasure in saying that the reports of this paper are usually remarkable for faithfulness and accuracy.

Mr. *Stanton* proceeded to address the House. * * * He was opposed to this resolution because the inquiry would result in no good whatever. He presumed there was no gentleman there who believed that there was now any danger whatever to any member of this House. He presumed there was not here a single individual who felt within his bosom an anxious thought respecting any supposed danger, and that no member would rise in his seat and state on his responsibility as a member of this House, that he anticipated any difficulty with the inhabitants of this District. But if this were the case, this House would have no power to exercise. If a mere menace had been made, what could this House do? No crime had been committed; no contempt of this House had been committed which could be punished by the House, and therefore the proposed investigation would be useless. The time had passed by for any useful investigation, and hence he hoped the resolution would not be adopted.

But he was opposed to this resolution for a different and more important reason. He was opposed to it because this resolution did not express on its face the true object to be attained by it; he was opposed to it because it was a masked battery.—Its design was to make an attack on Southern institutions. It looked to that result, having a direct connection with recent transactions in this District, with which the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States had nothing on earth to do unless it might be to pass some more effectual laws for the prevention of such crimes in future. He presumed that in fairness and candour the honourable gentleman who presented this resolution, (Mr. Palfrey,) and the other honourable gentleman, (Mr. Giddings,) who sustained the proposition, and for whose benefit he understood the proposition was made, do not contend, and in sincerity would not pretend, that he was now in need of protection; they would probably, however, admit that the intention was to bear on the question of Slavery in this District.

And he now submitted to those gentlemen from the South who have addressed the House and expressed themselves desirous to promote this investigation, by voting for the resolution which now lay on the table, whether they were doing what in justice they ought to do to their constituents. He submitted to those gentlemen that their policy was not to promote the investigation of such a subject as this, or the defence of such issues. But there was an amendment which proposed to extend this inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining if any member of this House had contributed to the crime which had lately been perpetrated in this District. The language of that amendment was as follows:

"And that said committee be authorized to inquire into and report to this House whether any member or members of this House were instrumental in procuring the slaves who were recently decoyed from their owners in this District to leave their owners, and whether the said members of this House have not been guilty of felony in attempting, or aiding in an attempt, to kidnap slaves."

If he believed there had been such an attempt—if there had been a suggestion from any responsible quarter that there had been such participation by any gentleman on this floor in that crime—he should not be unwilling to enter into the proposed investigation, but he did not understand that there was such a suspicion suggested, unless it might be in the presentation of this amendment itself. The honorable gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) in reply to an inquiry of a colleague of his, (Mr. Haskell,) denied any knowledge of, or participation in, the crime, and therefore, while he differed from the views of that gentleman, abhorrent as he believed those views to be, he had sufficient confidence in his integrity to believe his statement on this subject; and until such a charge could be directly made, he should be unwilling to fix on that gentleman the stigma which would necessarily be thereby attached to his character. If it was intended to infer from the speeches, resolutions, and motions of all sorts that the gentleman from Ohio had been in the habit of making on all occasions in this House, that he had in fact been a means of producing these results, he should deny the correctness of the principle; not indeed that those speeches and resolutions did not have such an influence, but he denied the principle that they could inferentially charge a participation in crime of which the gentleman knew nothing, and to which his purpose had not been directed.

But the most important reason why he was disposed to oppose this resolution in every shape and form, and under every aspect it could assume, was because it indicated an approach of that struggle which may hereafter take place, and which will probably at some time take place, and which, when ever it came, was calculated to shake this Union to its centre. It was not on this issue that he was disposed to enter into such a struggle; it was not on such an issue that he was disposed even to skirmish the light troops of the two contending parties. This was a subject and this would be a struggle in which they of the South had everything to lose and nothing to gain. The resolution, as he had shown, proceeded on an assumption of facts that had no existence, and it stated facts that were gone by; and the amendment assumed that which in all probability would not be sustained. If, then, they were disposed to press the inquiry they must fail to produce the result at which they aimed; and when they entered upon the struggle, or any part of it, or anything preliminary to it, they on his side of the House should stand on firmer ground and take their stand on higher and nobler principles. They have those principles. They have issues on which they can stand and be forever fortified by the Constitution of the Union, the laws of the land, and the immutable principles of eternal truth. He would say to his friends, therefore, stand upon this ground, maintain these principles, and do not allow yourselves to be drawn into a contest at a disadvantage.

If it should be shown that the honourable gentleman from Ohio had been attacked or menaced, as the resolution states, by a lawless mob, it was a lawless mob of those who sustain the rights of the slaveholders; and that House, whose duty it was to make laws, and see them observed, should not stand by and justify or protect the violators of the laws.—Nor was it for them to enter upon an inquiry from which he had shown they could gain nothing. For an inferential participation in this crime, he had no expectation that they could succeed in expelling any member of this House, however passionate may have been his expressions here. For that they could not expel, nor did he know they had a right to do it; but if they should succeed in that, they would but weaken themselves and strengthen the opposite party; they would weaken those who sustain the institution of Slavery and strengthen those who oppose it by the injustice of their proceedings. He should not, for one, engage in a contest with that for its object. The honourable gentleman, who was *par excellence* the representative of abolitionism here, had told them, in answer to a question from his colleague, (Mr. Haskell,) that in this violation of law there was no moral wrong.

Mr. *Giddings* said he would answer the gentleman as shortly as he could. He wished to correct a mistake into which the gentleman had fallen. The gentleman represented him as having said yesterday, in reply to inquiries put to him by a gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Haskell,) that he considered the conduct of the men who had carried off slaves from this District to be right; he had said no such thing. What he had said was pretty correctly reported, and he would read the passage. [Mr. G. here read an extract from our report.] He had said that he did not esteem it morally criminal for a man to defend the rights which God had given him.

When he had got thus far, he had been stopped by the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Haskell,) who declared himself satisfied with this answer. But Mr. G. had not completed his answer, indeed, he had only commenced his reply; but as he occupied the floor by permission of that gentleman, who was entitled to it, and who claimed it, he had been, of course, obliged to yield. He had been about to say, that, as to the morality of the acts of these men, it was a question, the solution of which, depended upon facts of which the House was ignorant, and Mr. G. also. If it was true, as reported, that these men had come into the District in a disguised and clandestine manner, and acted in combination with the slaves, for the purpose of enticing them to leave their masters, Mr. G. would reply that such a course would have been wrong; he could not, for any purpose, aid in a scheme of deception and falsehood.

Mr. *Stanton*, resuming the floor, said that he had had no wish or intention to misrepresent the gentleman from Ohio. All this, the gentleman had said, and there were other gentlemen who heard and understood him just as Mr. S. did. He well recollected the reply of the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Stephens,) which had as much truth as severity. For if there was no immorality in such a proceeding as these men had been guilty of in this District; if a man might, without any breach of moral obligation, enter Mr. S.'s district, visit secretly Mr. S.'s plantation, and entice away the slaves who cultivated it, then every bond which held society together, which preserved public peace and individual property in being, was sundered at once and forever. If that was true, then the gentleman from Ohio could not complain if the lawless mob of which the preamble spoke, should not only menace him, but should, without ceremony, hang him up on the first tree they came to; for such an act would be a violation only of those laws which he himself contended were without obligation.

But Mr. S. had already said that it was not the policy of those who thought with him, in regard to Southern interests and Southern institutions, to enter upon that great contest which might, and which probably must some day come, upon such issues as these. They had higher, nobler ground on which to stand, ground which could not fail them, unless truth itself should fail. They stood upon the Constitution of their country; and in the name of that Constitution, in the name of their fathers who framed it, in the name of the common liberty, and of their own rights as members of this Confederacy, they demanded that those rights should be respected. When the question should arise in reference to new territory to be acquired by treaty, then they might take their stand upon grounds like these.—Then might they point to the blood that has been shed and the lives which had been sacrificed in Mexico, and demand that no distinction should be made in admitting the rights of those who had made this common offering to the cause of their country. Then might they point to the bones of their brethren of the North lying side by side with the bones of the patriotic soldiers of the South, and ask whether the rights of those who had fallen together should be set in irreconcileable opposition and in deadly strife because they had come to the battle-field from different sections of a common country?

When an issue like this should present itself, they might point to the provisions of the Constitution, and show that this Government had no right to interfere with Slavery in the territories of the Union: then they should be prepared to demonstrate that the clause which gave Congress the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States, conferred no right upon Congress to legislate over persons in those territories; and that the power which sprang from the right to admit new States into the Union, was a provisionary tutelary power merely, and looked to the securing the existence in those States of republican form of Government. As soon as those States came into the Confederacy, this tutelary power ceased—the States took jurisdiction of their own population and their rights, and were not subject to powers which Congress had no right to assume, or to exercise. When that issue came, they would be able to point to the Missouri compromise, and tell their brethren of the North that, though Congress had no constitutional right to restrict Slavery in any territory belonging to the Union, yet, for the sake of compromise, they would submit to an arrangement which had to some extent shorn them of their rights, and which might have a yet more important bearing on those rights hereafter, and were willing that the Missouri compromise line should be extended to the Pacific ocean. They would then be prepared to show that they were ready, as they always had been, to do much for the sake of peace. They would then tell those who sought to abolish Slavery in this Union, that more than a thousand millions of dollars were at this hour inverted in slave property, and would ask Northern gentlemen if they dreamed of prostrating an interest like this at a blow? Whether they were mad enough to imagine that such and institution as this, which was entwined and interlaced with all the concerns of the South, civil, social, and economical, could be rooted out by the fiat a Congressional majority, and whether the attempt to do it was compatible with the public peace? As well might these dreamers think, by any efforts of their puny arms, to dam the stream of the Mississippi, and stop his waters in their course. Do what they would, the majestic flood would proudly hold on his way and pour his resistless waters into the sea. Gentlemen might indeed goad their Southern brethren on their sides; they might strike them, wound them, irritate them, exasperate them, but they never could destroy. The institution of Slavery, be it right or wrong, was theirs; it was theirs to endure; theirs to protect; theirs to regulate; theirs, if they so willed, to destroy. The North could not touch it. The power of such an interest was so great that it would take care of itself. No efforts of gentlemen here or at home could prevent the institution continuing to spread so long as it was profitable. When had the North gotten rid of it? Precisely when its continuance ceased to be profitable, and not before. When he spoke of the institution being profitable, he used that term in a wide, comprehensive sense; confining it not merely to pecuniary advantage, but to such as was moral, social, civil, and political. It had its advantages as well as its evils; when the evils overbalanced the advantages, then the South, as the North had done, would get rid of Slavery. When the effects of manumission should cease to be feared, Slavery would gradually disappear. But this result was not to be accomplished by hemming in the slaveholding interest and girdling it round within narrowly restricted limits; and no such policy ought to be attempted.

Mr. S. would not say that it would have been better for the people of the South if the negro had remained in his native jungle, and never left his African home, but this was very certain, it would have been far worse for him. By his removal to these Western shores he had been placed in the school of civilization: a rude school, it might be, and one hard to be endured, from the weight and severity of its discipline; yet such as degraded humanity, by the destination of the Supreme Being, had ever been forced to undergo. In this severe school his nature was receiving important benefits; and gentlemen might rest in the unquestionable truth that when the slave was fit for liberty, when he was prepared to do as the enslaved people of Europe were doing now, then the power of the master could no more hold him in bondage than the palsied arms of the monarchs of the old world were able to keep down the rising millions who were throwing off their fetters. But that time was not yet come; and till it had come, all the labours of the gentleman from Ohio and his co-labourers were utterly in vain; they did nothing but mischief.

Mr. S. said that when he had taken the floor yesterday he had had no design to address the House; nor had he, this morning, thought to have consumed so much time.

Mr. *Thompson*, of Kentucky, next obtained the floor. * * * * The people in this District has been aroused—not exactly to a revolution for he believed they were pretty well satisfied with their Government—from the fact that some piratical schooner, whether from Moro co or Algiers he could not tell, had come in and clandestinely taken some seventy or eighty slaves from their owners—had stolen some $50,000 in value and made off with them, like a party of Indians making an incursion upon a border settlement and running away with a lot of horses and cattle. Some of the owners he understood were widows, some men of small means; and they had had the audacity to denounce this as a species of larceny, theft, crime, and to talk about those who promoted it. He thought they had rather shown themselves a kind Christian people that they had not talked more. Why, there was not a man, who had the heart of a man within him, who, let any man interfere with his domestic relations—the relation of parent and child, guardian and ward, or master and servant, and drag away one so connected with him, without authority or pretence of claim, would quietly, kindly submit. There were few as strong peace men as that! These men owned slaves; they had been robbed of them; and was this House to say their talking about it under the wrongs and aggravations which had been thrown upon them interfered with the dignity and privileges of the Congress of the United States?

He would refrain from speaking at this time in reference to this slave question; for on another occasion he designed and desired to give his views at length.—He knew between the gentleman that had offered this resolution and those of similar views and himself there was a wide difference. He knew when they came up to this question it always aroused excitement and feeling. This House knew, from the scenes that had transpired before in this hall, that nothing of good to the country or to the individual participants in the debate ever arose. He regretted whenever the question came up; and in his heart, charitable as

not forgive a man who, recollectiong the compromises of the Constitution, recollecting how prosperously and gloriously we had lived under it and grown to greatness and power, unmindful of his duties and of the rights of others, assumed jurisdiction and control over questions which did not belong to him—the man who, blindly led by political fanaticism, assumed to denounce Southern men and their institutions. Even if they were wrong in holding slaves, even if it was a sore spot, did it become their brethern of the North to be continually rasping it? If they had a plague-spot upon them, let them alone; do not be continually putting upon it a goal of fire. They were their negroes; it was their own domestic institution, sustained and regulated by their own laws. Why, then, in the name of truth and justice, were gentlemen continually intermeddling with that which did not belong to them, with which they had no concern? In this instance every man saw how such proceedings generally resulted. These seventy or eighty slaves would many of them be sent to the South by their owners, and besides them perhaps a thousand more, where they would be subjected to the consequences of change of climate, food, living, and, by the time they became acclimated, perhaps five hundred of them would die.

That was the result of the benevolence of those gentlemen, who took so much concern in this matter, which did not belong to them. Why, in the State of Kentucky, before this abolition movement was got up, there was a large party in favour of emancipation. That party was met in its progress in this way—by men who were not content to let them go on and themselves effect the work, but resorted to denunciation, and threats, and attempts at compulsion; and who, in their excessive zeal to free the slave of the South, only riveted his chains. When they said to the citizens of Kentucky, You shall shall strike off the manacles of the slave, they only riveted them on him the harder. The gentleman near him (Mr. Bayly) said it was the same in Virginia. Not only this, but the gentleman from Virginia and every man from the slave States knew the fact—he knew it from personal knowledge, from observation, that wherever you turn these slaves loose they are a degraded class; they never came up to the enjoyment of equal privileges. Look at the statistics of the country; look at the last census, and we found the free negroes a poor, degraded, vagabond class—participants in theft, larceny, crime, outcasts from society, unprotected from the wrongs and injuries of bad white men, uncared for in sickness and age, as the owner from affection and interest cares for and protects his slaves. Wherever you turned a negro free pauperism, vagrancy, demoralization, and crime overtook him and his descendants. All experience proved this. In view of these facts, there was a vast difference between these gentlemen and him. He regarded their course as an unauthorized, officious intermeddling—a species of intervention where neither their jurisdiction, their duty, nor their business led them. In the madness of a mistaken philanthropy, phrenzied by what they professed to be the good of the black man, they were continually defeating their own ends, injuring the cause of freedom, and binding more firmly the chains of the slave.

A STEAM SLAVER—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE HER.

BOSTON, April 27, 1848.

The ship Geneva, Tucker, from Calcutta, via St. Helena, 7th March, arrived to-day. In a St. Helena, paper of the 4th, furnished us, we find the following intelligence:

"Information has just been received, that a large black steamer, brig-rigged, mounted with a large traversing gun on her topgallant forcastle, was seen in the river Congo, by the boats of her Majesty's ship Syren. On the boats nearing her, with a view of boarding, she slipped her hawser, and steamed into the river, leaving fifteen large Barracoon boats adrift, which had been conveying slaves to her.—The British flag was displayed in the boats; and a shot fired across the steamer's bow, which she returned with round shot and grape, from her pivot gun from the forecastle, and another on her starboard quarter; but she showed no colours, and although a quick fire was kept up from the boats, and every exertion made to get alongside, yet it was without success, owing to the steamer's great speed. The boats had the satisfaction, however, of seeing that part of her starboard paddle box and fore-rigging were shot away. The speed of the steamer gave her every advantage of choosing her position, as it enabled her to direct her fire on the pinnace from her stern quarter and forocastle gun, with the greatest precision. The ammunition in the boats being expended, and the pinnace's gun having several times capsized from the boat's pitching, it was found impossible to board her, and therefore it was deemed hopeless to continue the chase. The boats then stood in for the shore, under a heavy fire, which the steamer continued to keep up, she going up the river at full speed, and escaped."—*Boston paper.*

Communications.

Slave Products.

FRIEND GAY:—Your intelligent and candid remarks on my last article are worthy of impartial examination. I do not maintain that there is a "*perfect*" analogy between the holding of slaves and the use of slave products. The question is, whether or not there is an analogy which requires us to predicate moral wrong of both, if of either?

Is it correct to consider the refraining from the voluntary purchase and use of goods, known and affirmed by ourselves to be stolen, *simply* "as a means to an end?" Is it not a moral duty? Of the slaveholder, you say, "His wrong is primary and voluntary; that of the consumer of slave products is secondary and involuntary." The wrong of the robber indeed precedes the wrong of the receiver and purchaser of the stolen goods. Does this prove the innocence of the latter? I cannot admit that we are "involuntary" in purchasing and using the known fruits of Slavery. If Abolitionists are to be considered "involuntary" in doing so, because they would prefer free goods, if they could conveniently obtain them at the same expense, then are slaveholders, acting "involuntary," who would prefer free labourers if they could so obtain them. "The slaveholder," you remark, "in his own person, deprives his fellow-man of all his rights, and is bound to restore them to him. It is his first duty. The consumer of slave-products, at the worst, is using those things which are in themselves harmless; and how far it is his duty to refrain from them, under the circumstances of their unpaid production, depends upon its relation to other duties." I ask, does not the receiver of stolen goods "deprive his fellow man of his right?" If the slaveholder deprives his fellow-man of his rights, by taking from him the fruits of his unpaid toil, and selling it for his own benefit, is not the purchaser, who knows the facts in the case, involved in the same guilt? May the receiver of stolen sheep excuse himself by saying, I am using creatures "which are in themselves harmless?" Can we truthfully say, "how far it is his duty to refrain from "purchasing them from the sheep-stealers, depends upon its relation to other duties?"

My friend remarks, "The slaveholder can abolish Slavery at once, for it exists at his will." So far, my dear Sir, can the consumers of their ill-gotten goods "abolish Slavery at once, for it exists" by the profits voluntarily paid by them. You will admit that although the individual slaveholder can do but little towards demolishing the whole infernal system, by emancipating his few slaves, it is his duty to do so; so I say in respect to the refraining of the Abolitionist from the purchase and use of those fruits, the profits of which are the vital sustenance of the whole body of Slavery's iniquities.

You concede that "abstinence" is a "*right*" measure. Is it not *wrong* to omit a *right* measure as far as we can adopt it? You add, "but as it is neither the only right, nor the only expedient one, it is a question how far it can be used without encroaching upon other acknowledged duties," &c. As moral rights and duties are perfectly harmonious, and, consequently, can never encroach on each other, I think this inference inadmissible. If the purchase of stolen goods is not a case of moral wrong; if it is a mere matter of expediency, whether or not I shall be continually purchasing goods I know and affirm to be stolen, then is your reasoning sound. Will you allow the man, who opens shops for the purpose of receiving stolen goods, thus to excuse himself, saying, refraining from doing this is not the only right measure to prevent stealing, therefore, it is a question how far it can be used without encroaching upon other duties; such as the duty of supporting my family, &c.?

You justly require the slaveholder to make every sacrifice which emancipation involves; why? Because, "he has no right to rob his fellow-man," &c. You believe that he robs his fellow-man of the fruits of his hard toil; you recognize those fruits as belonging, not to the slaveholder, but to the slave. Does not your voluntary purchase of them, not of the true owner, but of the robber, sanction his injustice and involve you in his guilt?—Moreover, does not your act present the chief motive to the robber to continue his unrighteousness and oppression? Is it a mere matter of *expediency* whether or not you shall so act? I trow not.

My friend believes that the slaveholder ought to sacrifice everything, even his life, rather than hold his brother in slavery; but that "the Abolitionist is not bound" to do so, "that he may be free from all participation" therein. This I admit. Impossibilities are not duties. To be free from *all* participation in Slavery or other evils, we must need go out of the world. But it is as practicable for Abolitionists to abstain, to a great degree, from the purchase and use of slave products, as it is for slaveholders to emancipate their slaves. If you say to the stealers of horses, or of sheep, of cotton, or of sugar, you had better die than do this, and they reply, if so, then those who are partakers of our sins and present the chief motive for their commission, by continually and voluntarily purchasing the stolen goods, had better die than do so; will not my friend Gay "accept this reasoning?"

My esteemed friend considers that his "strong argument," and what is "more to the point," is that I, myself, use "the product of the unpaid toil of the slave." This inspires me with the hope that we shall soon see eye to eye on this subject; for if his chief foundation is the *inconsistency* of "friend Grew," or that of any other Abolitionist, his building is very far from being founded on a rock. If a man, who declares that it is a moral wrong to buy and use goods known to be stolen, occasionally does so himself, does this prove that the continual purchasing and using of such goods is a mere matter of expediency or inexpediency, and not a moral wrong? I do not love my neighbour as I ought, I am not perfect.—Shall another plead this to justify himself in not loving his neighbour at all? For fourteen years I have, for the sake of the suffering slave, endeavoured to supply my family with groceries and cotton goods unstained with my brother's blood. It may, at least, be worthy of the consideration of my abolition brethren, what the effect would have been in respect to the poor slave had they all done so as imperfectly as I have. Let them contemplate the deplorable fact, that to supply their demands, the unrequited toil, the unmerciful flogging, and various other outrages, are the cruel wrongs which have been perpetrated on far more than a thousand of their fellow-men, which would not have been inflicted had they refused to purchase the products of oppression. The supply of these articles is in proportion to the demand.

With grateful acknowledgments of your kind liberality in allowing, for truth's sake, a full and fair discussion to this important subject, I remain, yours truly,

HENRY GREW.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1848.

The Standard—New Arrangement.

The Standard, for the ensuing volume, will continue under the charge of its present editor, with the assistance of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, as Corresponding Editor.

Mr. Lowell's contributions will be weekly, and over his own initials.

EDMUND QUINCY, whose letters from Boston, are already known to, and appreciated by our readers, will continue our regular *Boston Correspondent*. A letter from him will be published every fortnight.

Our Dublin Correspondent, R. D. WEBB, will keep us informed of the condition of Ireland, and the state of Europe generally, as heretofore by regular communications, twice each month.

We have the promise, also, of occasional letters from two well-known friends of the cause, who will leave this country on the 1st of June, for Europe.

With such a list of *regular contributors* to its columns, in addition to those who favour us with occasional communications, we are confident that the Standard will be worthy of, and we trust will receive, the hearty support of every friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We are certainly speaking within bounds, when we say, hat no volume, since its establishment, has been commenced under more favourable auspices. The engagement of Mr. Lowell, whose reputation as a poet, and a reviewer, is second to no other in this country, we esteem as a most fortunate one for the paper and the cause which it advocates. And it is not improper to say here, that the frequent quotations which are made from the letters of our Boston and Dublin correspondents, are the best proof of the esteem in which they are held by our contemporaries of the Press.

Two years since the price of the Standard was put at $1 *per annum*, in the hope of an increased circulation. The success of the experiment has not been such as to justify, in the opinion of the Committee, the continuation of these terms, in view of the increased expenditure involved in the new arrangement. The subscription-price, therefore, will be raised, at the commencement of the new volume, to its former rate of *Two Dollars per annum*, payable in advance. The new arrangement commences immediately, but the price will not be raised till the 1st of June. All subscribers who have *already* paid in advance for the next volume, will receive the paper, till the close of their year at the old price. All whose year commences *before* the close of the present volume, and who pay before the change is made, will receive the paper to the close of *their* year, at $1 *per annum*. But all who do not pay before the 1st of June, whose subscription commences at that time, and have not already paid, will pay the new price of $2 *per annum*.

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! ☜

FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will be held in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, NEW YORK, on TUESDAY, THE NINTH DAY OF MAY, at ten o'clock, A. M.

The present aspect of public affairs in this country, should make this meeting one of more than usual importance and interest. The Southern boundary of AMERICAN SLAVERY, which, since this Society was formed, has been removed from the SABINE to the NEUCES, it is now proposed by its guardians to remove still farther into the free territory of a sister Republic. We have little reason to expect a more favourable termination to the two years' war waged, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, for the sole purpose of extending the worst system of human bondage by conquest. Whether ABOLITIONISTS of the country can arrest the perpetration of this STUPENDOUS NATIONAL CRIME, or not, it is no less their duty to make the effort. The last PUBLIC PROTEST they may have the opportunity to record against it, should be earnest and unanimous.

The necessity of the moment should also remind us of how much of the work is still to be done, which this Society, fourteen years ago resolved to do. Since its formation, Slavery has not been abolished in a single State of the Union. A MILLION more of our countrymen have been born to the lot of slaves. But that this Society and its auxiliaries, have aroused, to a certain degree, a universal Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and have made the topic one of absorbing interest throughout the country, is the best evidence of the wisdom of their measures, and should be the strongest incentive to still more strenuous self-denying toil.

The old and tried friends of the cause, and those who have been but recently aroused to the necessity of the overthrow of the felon system of AMERICAN SLAVERY are urged to make of this meeting a GRAND RALLY FOR FREEDOM.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Pres't.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, }
S. H. GAY, } Secretaries.

Letter from Rev. Mr. Wilbur.

JAALAM, April 26th, 1848.

ESTEEMED SIR:—Your favour of the 16th of the current month only came to hand on the day before yesterday, being the 26th instant. The mails arrive at this place with considerable irregularity, though I believe we are as much favoured as other towns of the same size. Our worthy and efficient postmaster, (who also conducts an extensive variety store,) informs me that the difficulty is not in the circumference but at the centre, and that the system will never revolve with smoothness and regularity, till the axle at Washington is either replaced with a new one or plentifully and effectually greased. If this should ever meet the eye of the honourable Postmaster General, I trust that no offence will be taken, as none is meant; and, indeed, I will not take it upon me to affirm that this high public functionary was intended to be typified in the axle above-mentioned. It is impossible for conjectural criticism to define the precise application of figurative and metaphorical diction, and the meaning of the above may be as multiform as that of the Beast in Revelations, whereof in the course of my reading, I have noted two hundred and three several interpretations, by as many different commentators. *Non nostrum est tantas, &c.* I have myself ventured upon a two hundred and fourth, which I embodied in a discourse preached on occasion of the demise of the late usurper, Napoleon Buonaparte, and which met with very general acceptance on the part of my people. It is true that my views on this important subject were ardently controverted by Mr. Shearjashub Holden, the then preceptor of our academy, (in other respects a highly amiable and sensible individual, with a somewhat inadequate knowledge of the Greek tongue,) but he has been lately removed by the hand of Providence, and I had the melancholy satisfaction of reaffirming my cherished sentiments in a sermon delivered on the Lord's day, immediately succeeding his funeral. This might seem like taking an unfair advantage, but I had previously learned that he had left provision in his last will, (being unmarried,) for the publication of a posthumous tractate in support of his own erroneous interpretation. But, lest this should seem like an aberration from the subject of this communication, I forbear saying more at present. I should be pleased at a more convenient season to favour you with my speculations on this topic more at large, unless deemed of too exciting a nature for your columns. It would be necessary in that contingency, that you should be supplied with type of the Grecian character.

Immediately upon the receipt of your favour of the 16th instant, I stepped over to Mr. Biglow's farm, where I found him engaged in felling a fine pear-tree of the Harvard variety, raised by his father (deceased June 8th, 1843,) from a scion procured by me from the parent stock, on one of my annual visits to Cambridge during the season of the literary festivities of Commencement, and which had perished during the previous summer, of what Mr. B. denominated *fire-blight*. I myself incline strongly (from an entomological bias) to the *scolytus pyri* theory, and a debate sprung up between us which engendered no little heat on both sides, and for the time rendered me oblivious of the object of my mission. The sight of your letter on my study-table as I was seating myself to write a few lines on the subject for the Cultivator, recalled your commission to my mind, and I sent my little son Seneca (now aged nine years, it being vacation-time with us) to name your request to Mr. B. He returned presently with the subjoined verses which Mr. B. happened to have in his pocket, and as to the merits of which I refrain from expressing any opinion, though I may add that Mr. B. knows more about poetry than pear-trees. There is not a schoolboy at present under my tutelage who would not be ashamed to mention the *fire-blight* in this connexion, and I can assure parents who have entrusted me with their offspring that he might securely reckon on being well breeched if he did.

Mr. B. sent a message with his verses to the effect that, as it was a duty to clothe the naked, he had prepared a coat which would fit a great number of persons, and that he should be pleased to furnish any applicant with a cloak of similar quality and material without extra charge. The sentiment is unobjectionable, though I do not approve of Scriptural allusions in matters purely lateral.

In regard to the collected edition of Mr. B.'s productions, it has been delayed by the press of geoponic occupations incident to an agricultural population in the vernal season. You have been rightly informed that it would be introduced by some prefatial matter of my own. Far be it from me to claim any credit for the popularity which I am pleased to hear the bucolick strains of my talented young parishioner have acquired. If I know myself, I am tolerably free from the itch of vanity, though I may be allowed to say that I was not backward to recognize a certain wild, puckery, and subacidulous flavour in them not wholly unpleasing to a palate cloyed with the sugariness of tamed and cultivated fruit, and it may be that a few touches of my own here and there, have rendered them more acceptable, albeit from no other cause than my larger literary experience.

It is with regret I add that I cannot find room at present for the lad you mention. One of the adolescentules under my charge will, probably, not tarry later than the next Commencement, and I shall then be pleased to receive your relative, if Providence permit. The liberality of my excellent friend Mr. Buckingham, of the Boston Courier, in giving to my prospectus the gratuitous advantage of his deservedly large circulation has filled all the vacancies of my little society.

There are several matters whereon I could wish to dilate more fully, but I am loath to burden you with the postage of a supplementary sheet. I enclose herewith a recipe which I have found invaluable in cases of obstinate ague.

Yours, with respect,

HOMER WILBUR, A. M.

Pastor of the First Church (and indeed, the only church, the other being a small band of Seceders worshipping in the School-house) in Jaalam.

THE PIOUS EDITOR'S CREED.

I do believe in Freedom's cause—
  As far away as Paris is;
I love to see her stick her claws
  In them infernal Pharrysees;
It 's well enough agin a King
  To dror resolves and triggers,—
But libbaty's a kind o' thing
  That don't agree with niggers.

I do believe the people want
  A tax on teas and coffees,
That nothin aint extravygunt—
  Purvided I'm in office;
For I have loved my country sence
  My eyeteeth filled their sockets,
And Uncle Sam I reverence,
  Particklerly his pockets.

I do believe in *any* plan
  Of levyin the taxes
As long as, like a lumberman,
  I git jest what I axes:
I go free-trade through thick an' thin,
  Because it kind o' rouses
The folks to vote—and keeps us in
  Our quiet Custom houses.

I do believe it 's wise and good
  To send out furrin missions,
That is, on certain understood
  And orthydocks condishuns;—
I mean nine thousand dolls per ann.
  Nine thousand more for outfit,
And me to reckomend a man
  The place would jest about fit.

I do believe in speshul ways
  Of prayin' and convartin';
The bread comes back in many days,
  And buttered, too, for sartin;
I mean in preyin' till one busts
  On what the Party chooses,
And in convartin' public trusts
  To very pryvit uses.

I do believe hard coin the stuff
  For 'lectioneers to shout on,
The people's ollers soft enough
  To make hard money out on;
Dear Uncle Sam pervides for his
  And gives a goodsized junk to all,—
I don't care how hard money is,
  As long as mine 's paid punctooal

I do believe with all my soul
  In the gret Press's freedom,
To pint the people to the goal
  And in the traces lead 'em;
Palsied the arm that forges yokes
  At my fat contracts squintin',
And whithered be the nose that pokes
  Inter the guv'ment printin'!

I do believe that I should give
  Whatever 's his to Cæsar,
For it's by him I move and live,
  From him my bread and cheese are;
I do believe that all of me
  Doth bear his superscripshun,—
Will, conshunce, honor, honesty,
  And things of that descripshun.

I do believe in prayer and praise
  To him that has the grantin'
Of jobs,—in everythin' that pays,
  But most of all in CANTIN';
This doth my cup with mercies fill,
  This lays all thought of sin to rest,—
I *dont* believe in principle'
  But oh, I *do* in interest.

I do believe whatever trash
  Will keep the people in blindness,—
That we the Mexicuns can thrash
  Right inter brotherly kindness;
I do believe that powder'n ball
  Are good-will's strongest magnets,
That peace, to make it stick at all,
  Unless druv in with bagnets.

In short, I firmly do believe
  In Humbug generally,
For it 's a thing that I perceive
  To have a solid vally;
This hath my faithful shepherd been,
  In pastures sweet hath led me,
And this will keep the people green
  To feed as they have fed me.

H. B.

Annual Meeting.

We have heard from various sources so many notes of preparation for the Annual Meeting, that we have not felt the necessity of urging the friends of the American Society to a punctual and full attendance here next week. Many, we know, still have faith in the old landmarks—still believe that the *old organization* of the American Society is based upon the highest truths, and has lost none of its active and efficient hostility to Slavery—and are still ready and glad to rally, as from the beginning, under the old leaders, whose ten and fifteen years of hard labour and faithful service have proved the soundness of their judgment, the singleness of their purpose, the energy of their will, and their entire self-devotion. We look for a large gathering—larger than usual—of delegates from various parts of the country, and we know that of the distinguished friends of the cause, whom all like to hear, or even to see, more will be present than have met together here for several years. The speakers at the Anniversary Meeting at the TABERNACLE on TUESDAY MORNING will be:

LUCRETIA MOTT.
THEODORE PARKER,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The meetings will adjourn to the Minerva Rooms, on TUESDAY AFTERNOON, and continue there through WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY.

Capt. Littlefield of the "Laurens."

The Grand Jury have adjourned *sine die* without bringing in a bill against Capt. Littlefield, or any one else, for the alledged participation of the barque "Laurens" in the Foreign Slave-Trade. Whether a bill would have been of any use, except as a decent respect to the laws against the trade, is a question. We doubt, unless the Grand Jury went behind the officers and crew of the barque, whether anybody would have been found to answer to its summons. Capt. Littlefield's bail, it will be recollected, was only $2,000—a small sum to pay to escape a conviction for engaging in the Foreign Slave-Trade. An escape so easy also from the mere notoriety of a trial, to say nothing of its possible termination, would be considered most cheaply purchased at such a price, by almost every respectable mercantile house.

There is still another body to sit in judgment upon the case, which, is is to be hoped, will be more faithful to its duty than the Grand Jury. We mean the New York Meeting of (Hicksite) Friends. We take it this is a matter into which they will feel bound to look. A body so zealous of its integrity that it could excommunicate such men as Isaac T. Hopper, and Wm. Marriott, for a connection with a publication which was supposed to exercise some injurious influence upon the Society of Friends, surely will not permit a suspicion even that some of its members have been engaged in a trade which the law declares piracy, to pass by without some inquiry as to its foundation. If the Yearly Meeting, however, do not think it worth their while to look into the subject we shall think it worth ours, and shall discover, if we can, something more of the facts. That two members—one of them the clerk—of the New York Yearly Meeting were owners or part owners of a vessel which sailed direct from somewhere on Long Island, for Rio Janiero, and was captured as a slaver, immediately on leaving the latter port, is, we think, a pretty good fact to start with, and one well worth following up.

THE PRISONERS.—A meeting was held in Boston on the 25th, in relation to the recent attempted escape of the slaves from Washington, and the imprisonment of those concerned in it. A Committee was appointed, and we publish below a Circular issued by them. We need not commend it to the attention of our readers:

To the Friends of Liberty throughout the United States:—

The undersigned, at a public meeting of citizens of Boston, held at Faneuil Hall on the 25th inst. in relation to the recent arrest, at Washington, of three men charged with assisting the escape of fugitive slaves, were authorised to collect money and employ counsel, for the purpose of defending these men, and of bringing before the Supreme Court of the United States, the question of the legality of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Our action in this matter can furnish no colour of pretence to charge us with medelesome interference. Whatever may be the case in the States, Slavery in the District of Columbia is a national affair—our affair. Over that District Congress possesses sole and exclusive jurisdiction. It is the citizens of the United States who are the jailors of these men.

We deny that the Constitution confers on Congress any power to establish, or to maintain slavery, in territory over which it possesses exclusive jurisdiction. This is a most important question, in reference not only to the District of Columbia, but to the territory about to be acquired from Mexico. We wish to bring it before the Supreme Court, and to have it presented there, along with some other closely related questions, by the very ablest counsel. To do that, money is needed; and we call on you, friends of liberty, to furnish it. Even pirates and murderers are entitled to counsel—how much more, guilty only of an act of humanity, prisoners in the midst of a hostile community, surrounded by enemies thirsting for their blood! This call, we know, will not be in vain. We suggest the expediency of setting subscriptions on foot, in the principal towns. All remittances to our Treasurer, J. P. Blanchard, or to Samuel E. Sewall, 10 State street, or Francis Jackson, 27 State street, or to any member of the Committee, will be acknowledged through the public prints, and the expenditure duly accounted for. Editors friendly to liberty are requested to give this a few insertions.

SAMUEL MAY, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
SAMUEL G. HOWE, WALTER CHANNING,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL, J. W. BROWNE,
RICHARD HILDRETH, HENRY I. BOWDITCH,
ROBERT MORRIS, JR., WM. F. CHANNING,
FRANCIS JACKSON, JOSHUA P. BLANCHARD.
ELIZUR WRIGHT, JAMES M. WHITON,
CHARLES LIST.

BOSTON, April 28, 1848.

The Recaptured Fugitives.

The case of the poor creatures who attempted to escape from under the protection of the National Stars and Stripes—especially the stripes—at Washington, excites deep commiseration among the few people, in this country, whose humanity and love of liberty is anything more than skin-deep. Of the final disposition of these persecuted victims of the worst form of tyranny, we learn from the following letter in the Albany Evening Journal.—Mr. Slingerland, the writer, is a member of Congress from this State.

WASHINGTON, April 22.

FRIEND WEED—Last evening, in passing the Railroad Depot, I saw quite a large number of coloured persons passing round one of the cars, and from manifestations of grief among some of them, I was induced to draw near and ascertain the cause. I found in the car toward which they were so eagerly gazing, *fifty coloured persons*, some of whom were nearly as white as myself. A large majority of the number were those who attempted to gain their liberty, last week, in the schooner Pearl. About half of them were females, a few of whom had but a slight tinge of African blood in their veins; they were finely formed and beautiful.

The men were ironed together, and the whole group looked sad and dejected. At each end of the car stood a ruffian-looking guard, with large canes in their hands. In the middle of the car stood the notorious slave-dealer of Baltimore, who is a member of the Methodist Church, in good and regular standing. He had purchased the men and women around him, and was taking his departure for Georgia. While observing this old grey-headed dealer in the bodies and souls of men, the Chaplain of the Senate—a Methodist brother—entered the car and took his brother Methodist by the hand, chatted with him for a short time, and seemed to view the heart-rending scene before him with as little concern as we would look upon cattle! I know not whether he came with a view to sanctify the act, or pronounce the parting blessing; but this I do know, that he justifies Slavery.

A Presbyterian Minister, who owned one of the fugitives, was the first to strike a bargain with the slave-dealer, and make merchandise of God's image. Some of the coloured people out-side, as well as in the car, were weeping most bitterly. I learned that many families were separated. Wives were there to take leave of their husbands, and husbands of their wives; children of their parents, and parents of their children. Friends parting with friends, and the tenderest ties of humanity severed at a single bid of the inhuman slave-broker before them. A husband, in the meridian of life, begged to see the partner of his bosom. He protested that she was free—that she had free papers, and was torn away from him, and shut up in the jail. He clambered up to one of the windows of the car to see his wife, and, as she was reaching forward her hand to him, the black-hearted slave-dealer ordered him down. He did not obey.

The husband and wife, with tears streaming down their cheeks, besought him to let them speak to each other. But no; he was knocked down from the car, and ordered away! The bystanders could hardly restrain themselves from laying violent hands upon the brute. This is but a faint description of the scene which took place within a few rods of the Capitol, and under enactments recognized by Congress. Oh, what a revolting scene to a feeling heart, and what a retribution awaits the actors.—Will not their wailings of anguish reach the ears of the Most High? "Vengeance is mine—I will repay, saith the Lord."

You have already heard of the fugitive case, and the mob here. A very exciting discussion has been going on in the House for the last two days, growing out of these riots. The galleries were thronged, and the most intense interest was maintained while Northern and Southern members were discussing.

I have the honour to be your sincere friend and obedient servant. JOHN S. SLINGERLAND.

Such an account as this, one would think, would arouse some sensation in the hard hearts of the American people, even were not the whole world ringing with shouts of Liberty and Equality; but the predominant feeling, North and South, except in rare instances, seems to be, that the whole transaction was an outrageous interference with the rights of the Almighty Dollar, for which the *niggers* deserve to be sold to the uttermost parts of the earth, and the whites who assisted them—not being saleable—to be hung as high as Haman. We may rejoice, however, at least, that Mr. Giddings declared in his place in Congress, that no moral wrong had been committed. We cannot doubt that his bold and manly course excites far more the respect of the slaveholders, than the conduct of the editor of the *Era*, who, throughout the whole excitement, has laboured to show the moboerats in and out of Congress, that he had nothing to do with this transaction; and could have nothing to do with any of a like character. We appreciate entirely the difficulty of a man who is confronted by a mob; we understand the delicacy of his position, and how much depends upon his moderation and calmness; but it seems to us, if Dr. Bailey had ventured to show some sympathy for these poor creatures, and had defended their inalienable right to run away from Slavery, at the same time that he published his apologetic card to the citizens of Washington, nobody would have blamed him, and, even his namesake from Virginia, who heads the Congressional pro-slavery mob, would have given him credit for his manliness. We should rather, were we in his place, hold it to be something to hide our face for, if at such a time and under such circumstances, a mob in a slaveholding city, could find us deserving of no worse punishment,—according to their notions—than the smashing of a few panes of glass, and shouting, for two or three nights, "down with the Era!" without putting it down. Nor do we by any means think, that fidelity to principle is always to be measured by the amount of opposition and persecution that shall be raised against its advocates; but these are times when not to be thought worthy of some degree of persecution, is a proof of the highest degree of moral cowardice. And this is one of them. The Freedom of the Press is a great thing; but the thing that has been preserved at Washington, is not so much the Freedom of the Press, as the freedom of the printing-office—from Goose Creek. There was a great saving of type, but a terrible loss—or rather a not finding—of that which types are supposed to represent.

The Pearl, it seems, belonged to a Mr. Aaronson, of Bordentown, (N. J.) and that her Captain, Sayres, has been in his employ since August last. Mr. Aaronson was not aware that his vessel was to be employed in exporting so valuable a cargo from Washington. Would that it had succeeded!

THE DEBATE IN CONGRESS.—We regret that we have not room for the whole of the interesting debate in the House of Representatives at Washington, on the Resolution of Mr Palfrey, as we are certain that the columns of an Anti-Slavery paper can be filled with nothing of more importance. We shall give the rest of it next week.—As most of our readers probably know, the whole subject was laid upon the table by a vote of 130 to 42.

HENRY GREW'S LETTER.—We meant to have commented briefly on the letter of our esteemed friend, but are prevented for want of room. Our difference, however, is rather in words than in fact.

DARING OUTRAGE.—A correspondent of the Pennsylvania Freeman gives the particulars of a daring and successful act of kidnapping in Downingtown, Chester county, Pa. Six men entered the house of a Mr. Thomas there, and deliberately gagged, and carried off a coloured girl who was living in the family.

COL. MILLER.—The Lynn Pioneer says that Colonel Miller has determined to make an anti-slavery visit to the South, the ensuing Autumn. It will be recollected that this gentleman once before entertained the same purpose, but was dissuaded from it by his friends. He thinks that the time has now come "to carry the war into Africa.

☞ We are indebted to Hon. WM. DUER for a copy of Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate on the Mexican war.

Domestic Correspondence.

Fair, and Meeting at Worcester, Mass.

WORCESTER, (MASS.) April 28th, 1848.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I seize a single moment of one of the pleasantest Spring days, one of the pleasantest cities of this State, to give you all the participation I can, in an occasion worthy of that city, so proudly and affectionately called "the heart of the Commonwealth," by all its lovers and its sons:—and *they* comprise a large proportion of the people of the Bay State. And well may they love their birthplace and be proud of their paternity, since, at every call of Humanity, Justice and Freedom, a response comes more surely and cheerily from WORCESTER than from any other county. With less of mere outward enthusiasm, there is here a devoted readiness, a marked steadfastness, an abiding interest in whatever is undertaken, which puts to shame some of the more inflammable but less persevering sections of Massachusetts.

I speak now, as you of course perceive, with particular reference to the Anti-Slavery cause; but that cause has always afforded the most complete touch-stone of character since Garrison first gave it visible form and impulse in this country. Clarkson's experience of it in England was to the same effect. It went through the land, he tells us, "dividing the sheep from the goats, as distinctly as if the divine being had marked them."

How greatly would you have rejoiced to see the manner in which the appeal of the enslaved against wrong has just been met here! The original standard-bearers of the cause had but to lift its banner in token of their purpose to aid it, and

"Fresh volunteers came trooping to the field."

You remember the next line—(the quotation is from one of Garrison's early sonnets)—may it prove true of these new, and most highly valued and efficient auxiliaries:—

"To die they are prepared, but not an inch to yield."

That is the truest benediction that the grateful hearts of slave and Abolitionist can call down upon the heads of such as come up to their help in the thick of the Anti-Slavery battle—"be thou faithful unto death."

You doubtless saw the call for this exertion to raise funds for the American Anti-Slavery Society, signed by the Earles, the Wymans, the Allens, the Weisses, the Butmans, the Fosters, the Chases, and a multitude of others. The effort has been made, and the success of the Worcester Co. Anti-Slavery Bazaar has been complete. Indeed, if ever success was won by well-directed exertion, it has been in this instance. All the Anti-Slavery hosts should come to Worcester, to learn how to make arrangements for such an occasion. The best hall, (Brinley Hall, in the centre of the city,) was secured, beautifully decorated, brilliantly lighted, and extensively advertised. Co-operation from all quarters was warmly solicited and gladly given, and the most generous hospitality extended. It was delightful to see the component parts of the Bazaar come together, with a facility and effect that reminded one of the story of the building of Solomon's temple. From many towns in Worcester Co. as well as from the city itself, came generous and abundant contributions of refreshments; while the quarterly meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in conjunction with the Bazaar, brought friends to partake of them, from all quarters within fifty miles distance. The beautiful goods remaining from the Faneuil Bazaar, were carefully packed and reserved for this occasion, and great was the interest and admiration they excited. Some choice contributions from Bristol, England, which did not arrive in season for that Bazaar, now received their merited tribute of admiration from Worcester. No city better knows how to appreciate and display these beautiful works of taste and art, and the receipts of the occasion, which will not fall far short of SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS prove the liberality of the purchasers. This is a far larger sum, in proportion to this place, than used to be raised on similar occasions in Boston. At the third Anti-Slavery Bazaar, for instance, some ten years ago, the receipts were but eight hundred dollars. The population of Worcester is now about 14,000—greatly increased by immigration within the last eight years. Probably not half of these are Worcester born. After Anti-Slavery shall have thoroughly penetrated the various parties and denominations, still greater results may be looked for, in aid of the American Anti Slavery Society. As an instance of what is going on already in one party I will mention that the Worcester Co. Whig Convention for the choice of a delegate to the National Whig Convention for the next Presidential nomination, met yesterday, and appointed Charles Allen, Esq.—an Anti-Slavery man in comparison with Mr. Bullock, the unsuccessful candidate, for the service. This gentleman is the "Judge Allen" whom you may recollect as active in the Massachusetts Anti-Texan effort. His family are warmly interested in the success of the Bazaar. The Hall of the Bazaar is crowded, almost to suffocation, every evening with attentive listeners to the eloquence of Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, H. C. Wright, and W. W. Brown. This is that very Brinley Hall where, ten years since, the Masachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was convoked, to rebuke on its first appearance, the evil spirit of new organization. Here Wendell Phillips, now a "man of seventy fights," came fresh to his first field; and many that remembered the pledge he then gave, to "stand by Garrison while Garrison shall stand by the truth," are here now to witness how nobly he redeems that promise. No description can do justice to the power of his allusions to the recent revolutions in Europe;—to the toils and sacrifices of patriots through which those triumphs of Freedom have been won;—to the determination of Abolitionists to secure a like triumph by a like diligence and faithfulness in the promulgation of their principles. And when he pictured the mistake of Edward Everett in following with cat-like caution along that part of the course of John Quincy Adams which should have received the largest and boldest utterance of eulogium in order to have satisfied the fast-enlarging heart of New England, a sudden explosion of applause testified to the sagacity as well as eloquence of the Anti-Slavery orator, and to the lack of sagacity at least, of him who had not the strength fitly to praise the deeds a stronger man had done.

The music of the harp and piano, and at such rare intervals of quiet as permitted it, a charming and cultivated voice, added greatly to the pleasure of the occasion. I could not but be reminded by the devotedness of the young and the beautiful on this occasion, of Addison's exquisite portraiture of Fidelia, in the Spectator;—"she has given up her youth, and thinks it but little to add to it the spoiling of her dress." Day after day were these youthful friends of the slave found toiling at their fatiguing post for his Freedom, zealous at the same time, in the performance of every other duty, and sacrificing cheerfully every pleasure of the moment to the determination to furnish the American Anti-Slavery Society with the means of continuing its agitation of the public mind, and scattering the pages of its organ, the Anti-Slavery Standard, broadly through the land. Too much cannot be said of the effectual and gratuitous exertions of numbers without whose valued aid the Bazaar had failed of success. Their names will always be cherished for

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, the world over, except in the United States and Russia.—The Kind of Liberty enjoyed by them.—Condition of Ireland.—The writer anticipates no outbreak, and why.—The "Red-coats."—Mutual willingness of the Scotch, Irish, and English, to make "game" of each other.—The tone of the Irish press.—Irish Characteristics.—Truth better than Patriotism.—The Correspondent moralizes a little.—High postage a supposed blessing to Editors.—Message to H. C. Wright.—Letter of Mrs. Nicholson to Wm. Goodell.—Comments thereon.

DUBLIN, March 31, 1848.

MY DEAR GAY:—What shall I say to you amidst all this toppling of despotisms. France (I hope) is free—Austria is free—Prussia is free—all the minor States of Germany are free—Italy is free. Russia and the United States will soon be the only civilized and Christian country where a man will any longer be quite free—to larrup his own nigger. It is enough to take away one's breath every morning when you open the newspapers, to find fresh news of awakening of States and empires that you thought had long since gone asleep in the benumbing embrace of despotism. It has been, I believe, always admitted that the social state of many parts of the continent was more genial and cordial than ours in the British Islands. If they get institution as free and as reasonable as ours, their general condition will therefore be more enviable.

As to Ireland, it is no wonder that the demagogue and the bloody-minded incendiary, (and we have plenty of them,) meet with so much favour from the multitude, for there is a dreadful amount of poverty, destitution, rags, wretchedness, and degradation among them. In this city of 250,000 inhabitants, I could pick you out, without much trouble, 40,000 of as destitute creatures as could be found in any city on earth. Throughout Ireland, even in the best parts, where comfort, good clothes, good houses, and good agriculture most abound, there is still such an overflow of misery that the poor-houses can't hold the half of them—nor can the industry of one class keep the rest from starving, while it barely suffices to maintain itself. Yet I don't anticipate any outbreak here, though the physical destitution is so dreadful.—The people are not soldiers like the French and Germans—they are unused to arms—they have the will but not the way. The British army is more thoroughly disciplined, and more carefully segregated from the rest of the population than in any other country. In short a British soldier (brave fellow!) being more obedient to the word of command, will hesitate less to shoot his townsman, his brother, or his mother, than any other man in any other country, where people sell themselves soul and body, for a shilling a day. The Government confidently and reasonably rely upon the army for these reasons—and as it is made up of three nations, which have no particular affection for each other, (I speak of the millions,) Queen Victoria is as prettily served as any Sovereign anywhere. She may rely upon her brave troops in sure and certain confidence, that in the event of an *emeute*, her beloved English will cut and carve her beloved Irish with exceeding gusto—her Irish and Scotch being always, as in duty bound, ready and willing, when called upon to return the compliment to dear honest John Bull. It is curious to see how nations are held together, and how helpful cold steel and gunpowder are in keeping the flames of loyalty alive and burning.

In Ireland, except amongst the Protestants, who are loyal by their inheritance from the ancient invaders of the country, there is no such thing as loyalty known except loyalty to the priests. "The beloved and lovely Queen" is talked about, but the people do n't care for her. Why should they? She is a distant divinity, of whom they see no more (though they pay her more) than the Emperor Nicholas or the Grand Llama. We had great talk here of a rising on Patriek's Day—but nobody rose except out of bed—and what is remarkable, very few got drunk. I only heard of 25 in the 250,000. One in 10,000, though too much, was not many. I saw two of these, and they staggered tremendously, and looked like brutes. This alarm was chiefly caused by some inflammatory and seditious speeches and newspaper writings, on the part of some of the Young Ireland party, who openly recommend armed insurrection and forcible separation from England. Since the world began, no such language has been openly thrown in the teeth of a powerful Government—so provocative of bloodshed and outrage. Pikes, vitriol, hot irons, broken glass in the streets, and chimney pots from the roofs are promised to her Majesty's troops in the event of an outbreak. I think if such talk were published in your papers against the sentiment of the predominant majority, the offender would be lynched. Here he is liable to a criminal prosecution. Three of the more prominent Patriots of the Pen have been obliged to give bail, and will have to stand their trial very shortly.—Meanwhile they improve their opportunity with remarkable assiduity, and are vehement in recommending us all to take the first opportunity of proclaiming our national independence. I don't mean to take the advice. I am one of a numerous class in Ireland who think a middling Parliament in London better than the best hierarchy that ever sate in Dublin. I had rather have King Log than King Stork—Lord John Russell than John of Tuam. I prefer to be allowed to stay away from meeting if I please, instead of having to go to mass whether I like it or no.

It will be a fine thing for Ireland when we are all one nation instead of two; all of one mind instead of everlastingly quarrelling; all united for the general prosperity instead of being perpetually engaged in raking up old stories against each other, to keep the flame of discord alive and raging. On earth there is no other such distracted, disunited nation as Ireland—none where so many are ragged, ignorant, superstitious, and wretched; where the war of races and the division of interests is so diligently maintained. It takes a long time to open an Irishman's eyes to the poverty, and pauperism, and hopelessness of the state of his country. Everything seems to go against us. We are far too flighty, and have far too little common sense. We love to be flattered about our virtues and those of our ancestors, and are too impatient of the perseverance and energy indispensable to true respectability of character. If I were not an Irishman, I would hate to live in Ireland, in the vices of evils you cannot reform, of poverty you cannot effectually relieve, of folly you cannot warn, of fools whom no experience can make wiser. This may not be very patriotic talk, but it is true, and truth is better than patriotism.—The brawling patriots here, (as in the United States and everywhere else,) are not those who direct their attention to the real evils of the country. The relief of the starving, the providing of employment, the promotion of manufactures, of education, of agriculture, of cleanliness, civilization—on all these subjects the patriots are as silent as the grave. The Irishman who is practically indifferent to the palpable wants of the people, and yet rants and roars about Repeal of the Union, liberty, independence, national flags, and the necessity for pikes and fire arms, is no better than your patriot who brawls about everything except the giant evil of your country. Ireland, as well as every other land, wants acts not words from her children. Certain it is, that no nation is well governed by another; Ireland is no exception—her history is, and ever has been, an unhappy one; but the worst feature in it is, that we are made up of such irreconcilably discordant races and creeds, that it is nearly impossible to make us see the plain truth, that our interests, as natives of the same little island, must be identical.

The common talk is now, "These are eventful times; Were the like ever seen? The world is turned topsy-turvy. What will become of it now, that even Austria has got a Constitution. Europe is in commotion,"—and so forth. How relative is the value of such language. What do the five hundred millions in Asia care for Austria, or for the turmoil in Europe. Look at the map of the world: you could not miss the British Islands if South America were reduced by so much as their extent. Ireland is not half as big as a good many of your States that do n't contain a greater population than Dublin. Probably Turkey and Russia sleep just as serenely as ever, since all these civilized kings have got so rude a rousing from their sovereign security.

As I wish to send you a letter by the first weekly steamboat for New-York, I must post this to-day, and shall thus give your readers the uncommon treat of a short letter. Now if we had a penny postage, what a sorrowful life you would lead. It is a mercy that every letter costs a shilling—I mean to newspaper editors. I have little doubt that if the postage were reduced considerably, say to one fourth, the receipts of the Post-Office would be vastly increased. Whether the liners would be able to carry the mail, is another question.

Will you thank H. C. Wright for the crumbs of correspondence he sends me now and then. They are heartily welcome, and I am quite oblized for his keeping me in mind. It seems somehow to take a greater effort to remember a man who is three thousand miles off, than one who is only thirty. However, I am sure that Henry would be able for the antipodes.

I have this moment read a very long letter from Mrs. Nicholson to Mr. Goodell, originally published in the Albany Patriot. It is true that many of the people on the west coast are starving. I have seen them myself within the past four weeks. It is true that the attempt is being made by a poor-law to make Ireland support herself, and that this attempt is very oppressive on the class of producers who have to pay the poor rates. It is true that not even the wealth of Great Britain would suffice, under the present circumstances of great financial and commercial depression, to support a drain of several millions per annum, such as the English underwent last year, both voluntarily and by act of the Legislature, for the relief of Irish distress. It is not true that the present distress in Ireland is the result of any *present* British oppression. Ireland has been badly governed for hundreds of years, and although the mind of England is greatly changed towards us, the wrongs of ages cannot be healed in a day, and the misery, insubordination, and anomalous condition of the once oppressed country is the curse of the oppressor. It is true that wages in the west of Ireland, and, indeed, agricultural wages in all Ireland, are very low. This will always be the case where population is comparatively dense, and very poor, and where the employers are themselves poor or needy, and employment scarce. No man in Ireland could pay his field-labourers a dollar a day—if he did, he would soon have to turn labourer himself. It is not fair to estimate one country by the circumstances of another. It is true that benevolent societies, the Quakers as well as others, have found extreme difficulty in getting trustworthy persons in the wilder districts, to act as the agents of their grants. There is, and has been for ages, a great deal of heartless jobbing, in the west of Ireland more especially. Everybody complains of everybody, and an angel could not please the people, for they would say he was partial—nor would he please Mrs. Nicholson, unless he agreed to take her advice in everything. I have had a crowd round me in the West—a man on one side complaining, that none but the idle blackguards were helped—and one on the other, declaring that the really poor could get nothing. The real truth is, that Ireland is a warning to tyrants and oppressors. The cruelty and the thoughtlessness (which is often more ruinous than any tyranny) are sure to return on the tyrant, or on his innocent successors. If every member of the British Parliament had the head and heart of Mrs. Nicholson, they would still find it a tough job to bring Ireland through a famine which deprived her of food to the value of a hundred and fifty millions worth of American dollars. There is much that is corrupt and deplorable amongst us. Wonderful it would be if there were not. But it is equally true that the late famine has produced numberless instances of heroic humanity and devotedness among the wealthier classes, such as any country might be proud of. Noble devotedness has been shown, and is at this moment in operation, to the cause of the afflicted. The charitable society, I believe, and the Quakers I know, has been indefatigable in this way. Nothing that caution, prudence, zeal, and energy could do, has been left undone, to relieve the distress. Maria Edgeworth expressed to me, a few weeks since, in the warmest terms, her thanks and acknowledgments for the good they had done, to her own personal knowledge. She is a wise woman, and her opinion is worth something. In short it would be impossible to distribute millions in charity, and to distribute it all in the best way, or to avoid doing great harm to the receivers. The famine has, I firmly believe, done more harm to Ireland in a moral, than in a physical respect. Many of the poor have become paupers, and have lost much of the self-respect they ever had. Whatever may be said of Ireland's oppressions and sufferings, nobody tries to hide them—and nobody on this side of the Atlantic will be reproached or persecuted for doing all that lies in his power to mend them.

Yours ever, truly,

RICHARD D. WEBB.

Notes on New Books.

Blackwood for April.—Messrs. Scott & Co. have had their reprint before the public for several days, and in advance of the English edition which was not received till the arrival of the Acadia. The leading article in it, and the one which makes the number sought after with great avidity, is the "Fall of the Throne of the Barricades," by Alison. It is a history, from the high tory point of view of the French revolution, and is characterized, as everybody would of course expect it to be, with the bitterest spirit of contempt, and almost of hatred, of all that portion of God's children who are born outside the pale of aristocracy, and who in these latter days, and especially in France, have had the audacity to believe that they have a title to any other rights, or were created for any other purposes, than such as may make them the more useful and obedient servants of the powerful and the rich. Mr. Alison can only see in the last French revolution, a neecessary consequence of that which preceded it, and in both the decadence of all sound morality, and all true polity. In the sublime forbearance of the French people, and their hopeful struggles for a true Government he recognizes nothing but the most insane fanaticism, and can find no other fault in the dethroned monarch, than that with so much power in his hands, he was too great a coward not to be a greater tyrant. The whole article is as good an exposition of the spirit of the aristocrrey of Great Britain as ever was written, and represents faithfully the opinions and feelings of that class who opposed the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, and would oppose it here. It is immensely popular with the corresponding class in this country, who are as devotedly attached to tyranny, and as sincerely hostile to the cause of the people, as their compeers abroad, without the same palliation to offer in belonging to an established and privileged order.

The remaining papers in this number have all of the usual interest and value which are uniformly displayed by the able contributors to this popular Magazine.

The Union Magazine for May.—The embellishments of the May number of Mrs. Kirkland's Magazine are unusually attractive. The plate entitled Spring-Time is prettier than anything we recollect having seen for a long time in any of the monthlies. Articles from Mrs. Child, the editor, and other well-known writers will make the number a popular one among its readers.

The Architect. A Series of Original Designs for Domestic and Ornamental Cottages, &c.—By Wm. H. Ranlett, Architect. New-York: Wm. H. Graham, Tribune Buildings.

The second number of the Architect contains *views*, from various points, with plans and specifications of a villa, in the Anglo-Italian, or as, the editor insists, it should more correctly be called, the American-Italian style, which is now building on the south side of Lake Ontario, in Oswego. It is an elegant enough residence to satisfy the most refined taste, and contrived with such conveniences and comfort, as would suit the most difficult. We are struck in this number, as in that which preceded it, with the great good sense of all that the editor advances upon the subject of architecture, and the just understanding he shows of what is most needed in our own country, in the erection and embellishment of dwelling-houses. Beside the villa just alluded to, with all its details, this number has a view of a Marine villa, at Long Branch, belonging to Phillip A. Stockton, Esq. of this city.

Ewbank's Hydraulics and Mechanics, No. 6. This number of this very valuable work commences the history of the Steam Engine, with a minute description of the *Eolipiles*, which were put to various purposes of luxury and convenience by the ancients; describes the curious applications of steam made by Bacon, Garay, David Ramseye, and others; and gives a most minute account of the final success of the Marquis of Worcester, of Surrey, and of Newcomen and Cawley, in the invention of the Steam Engine. *Published by Greely & McElrath.*

Conscience the Best Policy—A First-day Sermon—By John Weiss, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, New Bedford.

The whole of this excellent sermon we publish on the fourth page of this week's paper, and ask for it an attentive perusal from all those who consider the claims of party as paramount to those of conscience. It may be read with profit especially by the friends of Mr. Speaker Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

To Correspondents.

A. D. W. We will attend to his request, and send the information looked for at our earliest convenience.

S. B. The documents shall be got ready as soon as possible.

S. M. Will accept our thanks for his favours per last package.

D. W. His inquiries will be answered directly from the proper source. We commend the person referred to as every way worthy of credit, and shall be happy to be of any service in our power between the parties.

E. D. H. will have received a letter from us written at the same time with his last. It anticipates, in part, a reply to his. He shall hear again as soon as possible.

A. O. G. The "Tampico," and "T. S." are only different names for the same thing. The first is the original—the last was given by the American Institute. In the case of the other article asked for,—it was not to be had, because all that *they* had preserved, decayed during the winter. Much obliged for his suggestions. Had acted upon it in part. All arrived safe, and are doing well.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Miscellany*: Conscience the best Policy; Instincts of the Blind; John Pemberton; The Irish Deputation; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

FIRST PAGE.—*Peculiar Institution*: Congressional Nuisances; Slave Abduction Excitement; The Slave Abduction at Washington. *Selections*: A Remarkable Case—Conduct of a Magnanimous Planter; The Fugitive Slaves—Debate in Congress.

Married.

In Carlisle, Pa. Hon. T. PILLSBURY, Representative in Congress from Texas, to REBECCA S. second daughter of Colonel J. Carpenter, of Penobscot county, Maine.

In Philadelphia, March 29th, EDWARD W. LINCOLN, Esq. editor of the Worcester Ægis, to Miss SARAH RHODES, daughter of George R. Arnold, formerly of Providence.

Died.

At Southbridge, Mass. on the 18th instant, Mrs RUTH HEALY, mother of Hon. William M. Marcy, Secretary of War, aged 84.

In Wexford, Canada West, Mr. DANIEL AIKEN, aged 120. He had, during his life, contracted seven marriages, and had 370 grandchildren and great-grandchildren; 300 boys and 270 girls.

In Wadsworth, England, April 1, FRANCES ALLAN, daughter of Colonel Aspinwall, United States Consul in London.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Seven Days Later—Arrival of the America—The News from Europe.

The New Cunard steamer, *America*, Captain Charles H. E. Judkins, arrived at this port on Saturday last, having made the passage from Liverpool in a little less than fourteen days.

She brings seven days later news, but it is of less interest and importance than was looked for. The week's report does not contain the intelligence of the overthrow of a single Kingdom or the dethronement of a Monarch. We collate from various sources all that is of interest.

ENGLAND.—The Charter demonstration passed off without the slightest disturbance. At the meeting on Kensington Commons, an assembly variously estimated at from 15,000 to 100,000 people, was gathered together and quietly dispersed after listening to speeches from some of their most popular leaders. No procession was formed, and the mammoth petition was taken to the Parliament House in a cab. In expectation of some serious disturbance large bodies of police and military were placed in various positions, in London, or held in readiness in the neighbourhood, ready at a moment's notice to suppress any tumult. Fortunately they were not needed. The following is the report of the Committee of the House appointed to examine the petition:

The committee upon public Petitions, in conformity with the instructions of the House on the 26th of November last, in all cases to set forth the number of signatures to each petition; and also having regard to the duty of the same time delegated to them, to report their opinions and observations thereupon to the House, have agreed to the following *special report*:

That on the 10th day of April last, a petition for universal suffrage, &c. of the inhabitants of the British Isles and subjects of the British crown, was presented to the House.

Your Committee strongly feel the value of the right of petition; consider the exercise of it one of the most important privileges of the subjects of the realm, and feel the necessity of preserving the exercise of such privileges from abuse; and also having due regard to the importance of a very numerously signed petition, forming the subject of the present report, they feel bound to represent to the House—

That in the matter of signatures there has been, in their opinion, a very gross abuse of that privilege

The honourable member for Nottingham stated, on presenting the petition in question to the House, that 5,706,000 signatures were attached to it.

Upon a most careful examination of the number of signatures in the committee-room, in which examination thirteen law-stationer's clerks were engaged for seventeen hours, with the person ordinarily employed in counting the signatures appended to petitions, under the superintendence of the clerk of your Committee, the number of signatures has been ascertained to be 1,975,496.

It is farther evident to your Committee, that on numerous consecutive sheets, the signatures are in one and the same handwriting.

Your Committee have also observed the names of distinguished individuals attached to the petition, who cannot be supposed to have concurred in its prayer, and as little to have subscribed to it.

Among others, the name of her Majesty in one place, as Victoria *Rex*, April the first, the Duke of Wellington, K. G. Sir Robert Peel, &c.

In addition to this species of abuse, your Committee have observed another, equally in derogation of the just value of petition, namely:

The insertion of names which are obviously altogether fictitious, such as "No Cheese," "Pug-nose," "Flat nose," &c.

There are other words and phrases which, although written in the form of signatures, and included in the number reported, your Committee will not hazard offending the House, and the dignity and decency of their proceedings, by reporting, although it may be added that they are obviously signatures belonging to no human being.

IRELAND.—*Effect of the Chartist Movement.*—Dublin, April 19.—The result of the Chartist demonstration has filled all the friends of public order in our city with delight. One splendid bubble has burst, which, added to the fate of the French deputation, gives greater assurances of tranquillity. In truth, there appear already a seems of returning quiet. There is less of the fever and fret of excitement abroad. The improvement is perceptible, let men account for the delightful phenomenon as they may. All fears of an immediate explosion are, by common consent, dissipated into thin air.

The Government Securities continue to advance.—This day there was a farther rise of one per cent. in Consols and Three-and-a-Quarter per Cents.

The same qualifying change is noticeable in the accounts from the Provinces. The tone of the popular meetings is rather subdued, and altogether, there is much less ground for alarm.

O'Brien, Mitchell, and Meagher, will probably be brought to trial this month.

FRANCE.—Warlike preparations on a great scale continue, both in respect to land and sea forces. All the regiments of infantry and cavalry in the departments of the North have received orders to place their battalions and squadrons on a war footing. The formation of new companies is ordered; fleets are ordered to sea, the moment their crews have voted at the ensuing election: and towns are fortifying.

At Havre some disturbance has occurred, growing out of the employment of the working men by the city. At the latest dates however, all was quiet.

A collision took place on the 7th inst. at Marmoutier (Bas-Rhin,) between the military and the people, in which three of the latter were killed. The difficulty arose from an attempt to arrest nine prisoners who had been liberated by force from the prison of Severne.

Some serious disturbances took place on the 10th at Rheims. The Municipal Government has found it necessary to reduce the rate of wages, and the workmen attempted a revolt. It was speedily suppressed, and the rioters dispersed.

A riot occurred at Tonnoule on the 8th. The chiefs of a club called *La Voix du Peuple*, assembled about 400 of the workmen, and entered the Palais National to demand arms from M. Joly, the commissioner of the Government. After some difficulty they were dispersed by the National Guard and the well-disposed of the people. The club, *La Voix du Peuple*, was, the next day, suppressed.

A slight disturbance took place on the 11th at Tours from some trifling cause, but order was soon restored.

At Dunkirk the people rose to prevent the departure of some English vessels laden with Indian corn, and injured the ships, but the National Guard turned out and restored order.

On the 7th, in the Department of Isere, the authorities interfered to prevent the peasants from committing devastations in the State forests. Four men were arrested by a detachment of the military which was attacked by the people, and obliged to fire in self-defence, wounding several persons.

THE WORKMEN OF PARIS.—The *Constitutionnel* says: "The number of workmen inscribed on the books of the national workshops amounts to 45,000. The pay of each workman, one with another, may be set down at 2 francs a day, making a sum of 90,000 a day to be distributed in Paris alone. This expenditure is borne by the two budgets of the ministerial departments of War and public works; but the greater portion is charged upon the latter. The narrow allowances made by the late Government for the public works of the capital being exhausted from the present state of things, the Provisional Government has decreed that an extraordinary credit of 3,000,000 francs shall be opened to the Minister of Public Works for the national workshops. The credit will be submitted for authorization to the National Assembly."

We read in the *Presse* of the 12th:

"It is believed that the ateliers of the national workmen will amount to 75,000 individuals before the end of the month of April; and, at the rate of 1 franc (50 cents) per day, or 3,375,000 francs per month. It appears that M. Louis Blanc and M. Emile Thomas have themselves showed that it will be impossible for the State to continue such expenses unless the works undertaken be really useful and profitable. In consequence, measures are at present being taken to ascertain the trade of each workman, in order to class them. Vast workshops for all kinds of trades are to be immediately organized. The workmen accustomed to out-door labour will probably be sent to the railways in course of construction."

FOREIGN WORKMEN PROTECTED.—The day before yesterday, between 2,000 and 3,000 men were assembled in front of the Exchange, being convoked, by a placard for several days in all parts of Paris, to meet and consult on a matter concerning their general interests. When the hour struck, four men carrying flags arrived, and, forming the assemblage in groups around them, declared that, on the preceding Sunday, they went to the Provisional Government and desired that, in consequence of the want of work, all foreign workmen, particularly the natives of Savoy, should be sent out of France. The answer of the Government not being explicit or in anywise satisfactory, they came to engage the workmen present to visit all the manufactories and workshops in succession, and, if necessary, expel these workmen by force. This proposal was met with marked coldness. At length one of the individuals present raised his voice, and, in energetic terms, demonstrated the odiousness of the step recommended, saying in conclusion: "My friends! it was we who displayed over the barricades the holy motto of the Republic, and we will never disavow it. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, was the cry then. Let us now repeat it!" This was repeated amidst general cheers. The flag-bearers were secured, and three of them taken before M. Freane, the Commissary of Police, and the fourth before the Commissary of the Quartier Feydeau. They were all committed to the Dépot at the Perfecture.

The Provisional Government has issued the following proclamation for the protection of foreign workmen:

"On the proposition of the Commission du Gouvernement pour les Travailleurs,—Considering that the principle inaugurated by the triumphant Republic is the principle of fraternity; that we have just fought and conquered in the name and on behalf of all humanity that the simple title of 'man' has something inviolable and august which the difference of countries cannot efface; that it is beside the glorious privilege of France, her genius, and her duty, to cause all nations to bless her victories, and when necessary, even her sorrows; considering that if at this moment she maintains many foreigners, a much greater number of her people live by their labour in England, Germany, Switzerland, America, and in the most distant countries; that to cause reprisal by sending forth from among us our brethren of other countries would be a calamity, and at the same time a dishonour:—The Provisional Government places the foreign workmen employed by France under the protection of French workmen, and it confides the honour of the hospitable Republic to the generosity of the people."

MISCELLANEOUS.

It appears by the official account published in the *Moniteur*, that the total amount of patriotic donations in aid of the State up to Tuesday evening the 11th instant, was 159,547f. exclusively of donations in jewelry and silver plate.

Plate Coined.—The quantity of the plate taken to the Mint to be exchanged for money, says the *Moniteur du Soir*, is daily increasing. These operations, which had fallen from 200,000 ty 110,000 and even 100,000 francs a day, have again risen to 200,000 francs. There are daily struck at the mint 120,000 pieces of five francs, 600,000 francs in amount.

The *Moniteur des Clubs* states that citizen Jules Chevalier, President of the Central Club for the Orgnisation of Labour, has proposed that the operatives throughout the Republic shall subscribe each one penny per day, which (supposing that 14,000,000 persons should subscribe would be sufficient to pay off the national Debt in fifteen years. This proposition was adopted unanimously.

La Liberté states that the Bank France is about to issue small notes of 25 and 50 francs, to be secured on the private property of Louis Philippe, of which the sale is to be postponed until a more favourable opportunity.

It is announced that a grand ceremony is being prepared in the Champ de Mars for Thursday, the 20th of April. The Provisional Government is to make, in the name of the Republic, a distribution of new flags to the regiments which are in the environs of Paris.

On the 6th instant, the students of the College Bourbon (now called the Lycée Corneille) revolted against their masters, and marched to the Hotel de Ville to protest against a decision of the *Proviseur* of the College who declined to grant to the son of M. Guizot a prize he had recently gained, in consequence of his relationship to the ex-Minister. The students were hailed with acclamations by the populace as the procession passed.

Mme. Dudevant, better known as George Sand, has addressed a letter to the *Reforme*, protesting against a silly announcement in a journal called *La Voix des Femmes*, and which is edited by females, that she intends to become a candidate for a seat in the National Assembly. She requests that the ladies of the *Voix des Femmes* will in future not mix up her name with their proceedings.

The members of the Provisonal Government have assumed Professorships in the College of France.

Three of the Bonaparte family are now candidates in Corsica, for seats in the National Assembly viz. Louis Napoleon; Napoleon, son of Jérome Bonaparte; and Pierre son of Lucien.

The Provisonal Government has issued a decree interdicting exposure in the pillory.

Four inspectors attached to the Direction des Mutées Nationaux, with salaries of 4,000f. and 2,000f. for traveling expenses have been appointed by the Minister of the Interior to ascertain what works of art have been placed in the ci-devant royal residences, and other edifices, and to take measures for restoring them to the Central Museum.

GERMANY.—The *Journal de Frankfort* publishes the report of the Germanic Diet appointed to revise the Federal Constitution, in which the recommendation of the Committee of fifty to have one representative for every 50,000, instead of for every 70,000, is adopted. It is also resolved that if the excess of population of a State be 25,000 over 50,000 for which one member is named, then it will have a right to elect a second representative; and that every State having a population in number below 50,000, will still have a right to elect a member.

As to the election of Deputies to the Constituent Assembly, the eligibility is not to be limited by disposition as to census, class, or creed. Any German, who is not a minor, has a right to elect, and be elected; nor is it necessary that he should be a native of the State which he is to represent in the Assembly. The Assembly is to be convoked so that it may meet for the first time on the the 1st of May. The commission annexes a table showing the number of members to be elected by each State, the total number of which will, according to the census of 1842, amount to 605.

AUSTRIA.—The *Allgemine Zeitung* says:

"Count Hartig has left Vienna as Peace Commissioner for Milan. The Austrian Government has resolved to relinquish Lombardy on reasonable conditions."

The *Allgemine Zeitung*, which announces the peaceful intentions of Austria, gives the following in the very same column:

"The first division of volunteers, 4,000 strong, leaves Vienna on the 5th, for Italy. All the men on furlough have been called in, and the army has been placed on full war footing. In four weeks, 100,000 Hungarians will take the field against the faithless policy of that forced hero of liberty, Charles Albert. The Tyrolese have also offered their services, 40,000 strong, to march into Italy."

The Austrian army, when placed on a war-footing, consists of 489,000 infantry and 48,000 cavalry, and would thus be increased, including volunteers, to 650,000 men, a levy of 100,000 men additional having been created.

Later from Vienna.—Confirmation of Previous Reports.—The deputies chosen to represent Austria in the Constituent Assembly at Frankfort, left Vienna on the 4th, having Archduke John at their head.

Though Austria is willing to grant peace to Lombardy on the terms we stated yesterday, namely, that it will take part of the Austrian debt, and pass a favourable commercial treaty, *war with Sardinia has been determined upon*, the first step towards which, was the dismissal of the Sardinian Ambassador.

War has also been declared against the Pope and Tuscany, and both the Nuncio and the Tuscan Ambassador have also left Vienna.

The news of the declaration of independence of Hungary, made at Perth on the 31st, is confirmed.

Bohemia and Croatia have made the following demands:

The indissoluble union of all the countries of the crown of Bohemia; the guarantee of their union with Austria; equality of Germans and Bohemians; a national representation on the widest foundation; a special ministry at Prague; a National Guard to be organized, and its armament granted; reform of the university; and all the authorities, civil and military, to take the oath to the Constitution.

PRUSSIA.—The Prussian Diet elected its members to the General German Assembly on the 6th. They are said to be, for the most part, persons devoted to the liberal cause.

Great alarm exists in Silesia, in consequence of the disturbances among the peasantry. Bands of incendiaries have traversed the country, burning, maltreating pillaging, and destroying property of every denomination.

The accounts from Westphalia show a similar state of things.

Twenty thousand troops, it is said, are congregated in Posen, and that an organization of a Polish National army is rapidly progressing. All kind of weapons are distributed among the volunteers, and it is openly asserted that all these preparations on the part of the Poles have in view the enabling them "to lead an army against Russia; the enemy of all free nations."

A letter in the *London Daily News* from Mayentz.—states that a mob of several thousand persons collected there on the 6th, and proceeded to destroy the Frankfort railroad. They declared they mean thus to serve all machinery. They afterward gutted six houses of contractors for public works and master-builders, whom they conceived not to have given sufficient wages or employed sufficient hands.

ITALY.—A letter in the *Constitutionnel* says that the greatest enthusiasm prevails in Italy, and that in every conflict between the Italians and Austrians, the former have been successful.

The Austrian army has evacuated Milan.

In the Venetian territory, the fortress of Porto Legnano, or the Adige, and situated on the road between Venice and Mantua, had fallen into the hands of the people.

The Provisional Government established in the Friuli had published a decree providing for the contingency of the arrival of the Austrian troops in that territory.

A letter from Udine announces that the people had taken possession of the forts of Palmonogos and Osopo, and all the materials of war. The 22d March the Republic had been proclaimed, and a civic guard organized.

The Provisional Government of Venice has sent a note to the Government of Milan, in which it declares to unite itself to the State of Lombardy, accepting in advance the form of government, either monarchical or republican, which the latter might think right to adopt.

The French Minister of Foreign Affairs had received by telegraph, from the French Consul at Leghorn, a despatch, announcing that all Dalmatia, the Friuli, and the Tyrol, (Italian,) had given their adhesion to the Venetian Republic.

The Jesuits Expelled from Rome.—All remains quiet at Rome. The Austrian Ambassador obtained his passport, and left Rome on the 30th of March. The expulsion of the Jesuits had been decreed by the Pontifical Government.

DENMARK.—Hostilities have seriously commenced between the forces of Denmark and those of Schleswig Holstein. A very fierce battle has been fought near Rendsburg, in which the Danes had a decided superiority in numbers, as well as in their cavalry and artillery.—The Schleswig Holstein army was defeated, and compelled to retreat toward Rensburg. The loss of life has been very great on both sides.

The Danes entered the city of Schleswig yesterday.

The Prussians have received orders to drive the Danes out of Schleswig, in order to the re-establishment of the *status quo ante*.

A Prussian force of about 30,000 men is advancing against Denmark.

RUSSIA.—The Emperor is stated to have suddenly countermanded his orders for warlike preparations.

It is denied also, that such large accumulations of troops, as was before reported, have been made on the frontier of Poland, &c.

SPAIN.—The Duke and Duchess of Montpensier arrived at Madrid on the 6th of April.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from April 2, to May 1, 1848.

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NOTICES.

ANTI-CAPITAL-PUNISHMENT MEETING.

The anniversary meeting of the New York State Society for the abolition of capital punishment will be held in New York city, on Monday evening, the 8th of May at half past 7 o'clock, p. m. Wendell Phillips, Esq. Prof. Patterson, M. D. Park Godwin, Esq. Rev. Mr. Chapin and other eminent speakers will address the meeting.

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Miscellany.

CONSCIENCE THE BEST POLICY.

A Fast-Day Sermon, preached on April 6th, 1848; by JOHN WEISS, *Pastor of the First Congregational Church, New Bedford.*

A Conscience void of offence.—[ACTS XXIV. 16.

Upon an occasion like the present, there are always special grounds which occur to us, as authorizing its observance; and they should be distinctly named as the objects of our meditation, if we mean that the occasion shall be anything more than an empty form. It is pleasant to find these grounds stated in the civil document which has called us together, and which is thus elevated from its bare official style, into an earnest protest and sincere confession. Circumstances have lent a weighty import to such clauses as the following:—"Reason and revelation pronounce that all men are sinners, and that communities, as well as individuals, commit sins and do wrongs for which they ought to repent and from which they ought to refrain."—And again: "Let us pray that He will speedily restore peace between this and a sister republic, and open the way for giving liberty to the millions of the human race now wearing the chain of Slavery in our own land." The present proclamation is a fair and manly one, because it calls things by their right names, and invites us to entertain feelings of sincere humiliation, because we uphold such things as Slavery and war. This is as it should be; it recognizes the fact that we do uphold them, not delicately, in the abstract, but wickedly, in the concrete. Particularly in the matter of Slavery, must we rejoice at the silent change which has taken place in this Commonwealth, and whose tide now cannot be rolled back. It is the beautiful fruit of a most unpopular agitation, which, however, is fast losing its right to that epithet, as it penetrates all the political parties and slowly regenerates them. This is its proper mission; and when we compare the present tone of public sentiment with that of ten years ago, or even five, we shall learn to reverence the power of truth, though it may have been preached to us by men whose meat, some think, is locusts. Their talk has had a savor of health and salvation to us; *wild honey*, if you choose, yet still full of exhilarating strength. Let us renounce our private tastes and feelings, and honourably lend our influence to their cause. The day will then soon come when our chief magistrate's Fast proclamation will be one paragraph the shorter, since we shall have repented of being accesories to this great sin.

We are partly indebted to the agitation above alluded to, for the unpopularity of the present war. Men see more clearly the policy of peculiar institutions; they feel more keenly to what lengths it will go, and to what crimes it will commit the country. The majority of men in Massachusetts do not like to be called upon to support this war, because they are more Anti-Slavery than they used to be; therefore, whatever may be their opinions upon war, they dislike fighting for a dubious cause. There is still a reminiscence of the revolution in men's hearts; and the bare thought, that the sons of patriots are expected to aid and comfort a war for the benefit of Slavery, causes the ancient blood to mount up and show its indignation on the cheek. For a clear exposure of the drift of the present war and the Southern policy in general, we are indebted to the Anti-Slavery agitation. It has opened the eyes of men in every party, some of whom are ashamed to confess to whom they are indebted, while others acknowledge it with gladness. This unpopular fanaticism is gradually consolidating the opinion of the North, and Southern statesmen ill disguise their new solicitude beneath their sneers. If you dislike the movement because it is unpopular, join it, and the objection will disappear. But it is no longer in our control; we may advance, but we cannot seriously retard it.—The growth of its lusty youth is bursting the green withs of prejudice and apathy, and it will become a terrible presence in our country, restoring her to the memory of her youth, and shaming her from the things which have seduced her from allegiance to her own ideas. Never forget that story of the poor, rude fishermen, whose bold, unpopular speech, made martyrs of themselves, but victors of their thoughts. Dou you not see the painted butterfly spring from the ruins of its former lowly life? So do unpopular disciples carry swathed within themselves, nurse by their sufferings, emancipate by their death, the majestic truth. Do not crush the chrysalis; Let the history of Christianity teach us to despise nothing because it is unpopular. It is poor policy to wait for our children to proclaim that what we laughed at was the solemn truth of God; and it is one ground for humiliation to-day that we still permit ourselves to be deceived by appearances, and to hold back a little for the want of honest thought.

At first, it seems as if this lingering war was the great cause for humiliation, and that we should feel contrite at not having more sternly opposed its inception and progress. Whether or not it began in an act of executive usurpation, beyond our control, we still must feel that upon us depended its continuance, because with us rested the question of supplies. And here is ground for humiliation; we might through conscientious representatives, have so steadfastly refused a cent for the prosecution of an unjust deed, that the executive would have been crippled and its policy defeated. This has been the practical point ever since the war commenced. A distinguished statesman said, in Faneuil Hall, that "nobody voted for the war, but that it was forced upon us by an unconstitutional act of the executive." Yet, did nobody vote for the supplies, and are not supplies the sinews of war? If we had done our duty in this respect, the war could not have been forced upon us: so that it is nothing but a subterfuge to say that nobody voted for the war, merely because they did not vote for its beginning. We begin to feel our error now, since the details of what profligate party papers call glory, have come to our ears. This glory is fed upon the millions we have voted in the persons of our representatives. These tears and blood are the fruits of party subservience and compromise. Let the hireling writers of the public press visit the widows made in those late battles, and attempt to offer to them their delicate consolations. Let them smoothly say how sweet it must be to die in the discharge of duty, and to merit a grateful country's tears. Let them repeat the bewildering talk which is retailed with such profuse readiness by those who stay at home, and wield nothing heavier than their venal pens; by those who have forced brave men into a position where they must fight for bare life and safety—like burglars whom you intercept upon your threshold; and then let them ask these suffering relatives if they do not now rejoice that the supplies were voted, which have so completely covered the dead with glory. Methinks the humblest widow of the commonest and most deluded soldier, whom our supplies transported to the shambles of Mexico, might teach these coarse orators and editors to depise their language. How dreadful are the annals of wars which are waged even for the principle of self-defence! Rare as they have been, since men have almost always fought from meaner motives, yet the misery they produced has been vast enough to quench the glory of all the world's victories, and to blight the greenest laurels. But how much more agonizing to the hearts of the survivors must be the thought that these fell fighting against self-defence, in a war which is the last brazen link in the fierce policy of Slavery. And this is called glory; and it is for this that we elected men to vote supplies—forsooth, because the party nominations left us no alternative. We saw no grounds for making a change; we rather smiled at those who had an extra conscience in the matter; we blindly swore allegiance to the ticket, when we knew what the result would be; we did not dare to follow conscience, and emancipate ourselves from party trammels. Here is cause for humiliation; and happy is the man who did not cast that bloody vote, instead of persuading himself that, on the whole, the names were as good as could be found. Miserable trickery of party, which cheats even well-meaning men out of their own conscience, and renders those who would not crush a fly, accessories to misery and war!

But the present position of affairs will teach us, if we are willing to hear its lesson, that our chief ground for humiliation to-day, does not reside in this particular war, or in any single act or measure, but rather in certain faults and fallacies of ours which render all wars, and every warlike party-measure, possible. I will not present the points which seem to me to be fairly deducible from the late events, and from the manner of their consummation. The moral drawn from them comes too late for the present need: but it may become a rich experience for the construction of our future history. We may make, then, the general statement, that the logic of the political convention always postpones the best thing that *should* be done for the next-best thing that apparently *can* be done, or for still lower degrees of that which is expedient. The finest compromiser is the most available man. The simple conscience is too millennial to do service for the next election. There is no faith in the providential issues of truth, but even God must be made available. The sacrifice of the next-best thing for the only true thing is never made. A partisan is a man who never reflects that God will conduct the country's fortunes if he will only act out his purest thought, or refuse to do that which is only available. God is not a great compromiser, but His action is based upon immutable verities, which the passions of mankind—the opposition—can never indefinitely postpone. He does what is pure justice at every moment, and waits for the issues, conscious that what it is purely right to do it is proper to do. He teaches us that it is easier to do a simple good thing, or to abstain from the next-best thing—which is the same—than to balance probabilities, particularly if we have to sanction some great wrong for the sake of some considerable good. In fine, He makes a millennial conscience the judge of present expediency. It is nothing but our want of faith in this great principle, which feeds, and promises to feed, the life of Slavery. It is nothing else which votes the supplies for every war. We will not suffer our opposition to some measure, or our abstinence from some projected policy, to assist the plans of God, which keep the future good as the result of present conscientious sacrifice: but we attempt to force Providence by resigning conscience for the next-best thing.

From this general statement we can descend to some of the particulars which it includes. Furnished with it, let us analyze, for instance, the war spirit: and our results will be seen to apply to all partisan policy, since that seeks either to wrest a good from Providence by evil means, or to do only that which is available.

The war spirit is composed of three elements:—First, the animal love of fight: second, a mistaken notion of honour: third, a perverted sense of justice. That analysis includes every element which makes the profession of arms, or which impels the civilian to thank God and to shout at a famous victory.—We need not spend much time in discussing the first,—it is neither flattering nor pleasant to be reminded that, in anything, we emulate the brute creation, and sometimes even out-Herod Herod. The love of opposition, whose worst form is the love of fight, is a sad inheritance of the animal nature, the link between man and the unreasoning quadruped, who still rarely fights except to gratify his hunger. It is an impulse which is chiefly kept alive and active by certain intellectual errors, soon to be mentioned; anything in the likeness of a man must first imagine there is something to fight for, else he is not at the trouble. And the presence of Christianity in the world, like the prophet among the lions, has so far cowed and modified this impulse, that we may safely say, that although the recital of ancient fights and deeds falsely called heroic, still sends an animal thrill through the nerves of the excitable youth, and though the pulses of martial music can still almost deify the wrong; yet, without the presence of these intellectual errors—the last remains of barbaric thought, to glorify the crime and cheat the conscience—no man would fight. As the human intellect becomes more sanctified, even the love of opposition will be an unpardonable breach of manners; and, notwithstanding the literature of the race, and its chosen memories, and even its most stirring metaphors, are warlike, yet the animal impulse will finally yield to the highest and hardest requisition of Christian love. Even now, almost any man will assent to the simple proposition, that the law of love ought to be supreme. He will begin by saying, because his heart compels him, that war is a violation of that law, and its spirit a most disastrous one; but—and here the man begins to argue, because his head will interfere, and so long as that head is subject to certain errors and misconceptions, the law of love in his heart will never be practised in its broad and noble Christian sense. How needful then, it is,—in fact, the only thing the case demands,—to clear away the intellectual rubbish, and to substitute lawful Christian premises for the mind's operation. This brings us to the second element in the war spirit,—a mistaken notion of honour. Leaders of party know very well how to move this spring,—turgid and time-serving orators can vault into place by its rebound. If it crushes human hearts, and dabbles the garments of the State in blood, there are fine catch-words of honour, patriotism, and right, to make us think those hearts a sacrifice well pleasing to God, and the steam of that blood, a savour of incense to the Lord of Hosts.—Let us analyze the popular sentiment of honour.—Ask a man if he believes in the law of love and the peaceful compromise of injuries, and this will be his answer:—"Yes, I believe in that law, promulgated by trump of angels long ago. I believe that it ought not to be heralded by trump of war, and peace *has* her greater victories; and Christ did speak from the earnest fulness of his persecuted spirit when he said,—'Blessed are the peacemakers;' but then, my Christian friend, *our honour* is at stake; the eyes of Europe,—of the world,—are upon us. We cannot compromise our dignity, and disgrace ourselves into a hissing and a bye-word. In fine, we must fight, Gospel or no Gospel; the stern necessity is imposed upon us; we must vindicate the national honour, or else be blotted from the roll of nations." Such is the recruiting drum and fife with which the so-called patriot leads men captive. Honour is the hardly-used word which fills the ears and bewilders the consciences, and beats the ploughshares of a peaceful nation into swords, as if they needed human blood to fertilize the soil of their tillage. This is the worst error of the human head, because it is so fine and contagious. Most-commonly, however, the error takes this form—that, though we may be wrong, honour permits no retreat or repentance. But yet, men are not willing to teach their children this, any more than they are willing to teach them to love strong drink. Every father who yearns to promote his child's true honour and welfare, will explain to him the true Christian doctrine of retreat from a bad promise or a wicked oath. He will teach him that the only true way of escaping from a false position, is, not to persist in it, but to escape from it; and this, he himself feels, in his cool moments, to be the only proper and manly course.

But what can it be which alters the case when we come to act as citizens and not as parents?—What juggle is it which substitutes a corrupt and senseless code for this plain Christianity? Why take the position that, to become implicated in a measure, pledges us to sustain it and carry it out? Because it is a plain matter of fact, beyond all argument or explanation, that the intellect has inherited a worldly notion of honour, side by side, and at variance, with that of the moral sense: and it deludes those men most thoroughly, who have much party feeling and strong nationality, and who are apt to be excited by the false patriotism of a newspaper paragraph. Such a man, backed by the sympathy of numbers, commits that which he would have punished in his child. He throws his vote, which helps to maintain his Government in a false position, because there is a prevalent fiction that Governments never retreat—it is very well for private men now and then to luxuriate in Christianity; but Governments must never flinch—they must have a stern and single purpose, and carry out, for their own credit, what they have commenced. For their own credit, indeed! As if any sane man could esteem a persistency in error creditable, or mistake it for that firmness which is both the glory and the policy of a Government when it pursues the right! It is this very firmness and persistency which the citizen needs as a salutary check upon the abuse of power: and he is not a true citizen who refuses to employ it to retrieve his country's errors.

And to-day we do not feel humiliated because we lacked the firmness which might have arrested the tide of war, but because our weakness helped to swell its volume. We have been the victims of that false honour which finds it easier to persist in evil than nobly to repent. The sneers of men are more potent with us, than the smiles of God.

But perhaps the false idea of honour,—the idea of the feudal champion, the modern duellist, and the demagogue,—is not so prevalent now as formerly.—Appeals to the feeling do not now move men so universally and certainly. Few, except the impetuous, the unthinking, or the designing, are likely to become its blind and irreclaimable votaries. But there is another intellectual error, the third element of the war spirit, which is more universally diffused, and which is held by men of greater stability, both of thought and conscience: the perverted sense of justice. They say rightly, that to obtain justice is to vindicate God—let justice be done, though the heavens fall. It is the very condition of social existence and the moral order of the universe. We will have justice at whatever cost: we will repel injustice at whatever sacrifice; else we should disown the power and the truth of God within us, and be unjust ourselves. Granted—the whole of it.—It is a noble position always: justice at whatever sacrifice. No man can refuse to demand that justice shall be established, without making himself below justice and unworthy of it. But here, my friends, the gospels interfere; and we gather from their spirit that the highest justice is that which is due from man to God. In seeking justice, fail not to do justice to the laws of virtue. Justice at whatever sacrifice does not mean justice at the expense of any crime. The moment that we find our sacrifice for justice is to involve a single moral lapse, we must abandon its pursuit, because the laws of virtue are superior to our private aims of justice. If the chief reason for establishing justice is to establish moral order—all other motives being purely selfish and temporal—then we must see that no moral disorder is committed in the process. Otherwise, we are guilty of the practical paradox of gaining virtue at the expense of crime. Our position certainly is, justice at any expense: but to that the gospels add another saving clause—except the expense of crime. Without that clause, the grossest injustice would be daily committed in the name of virtue. Many an atrocity has been perpetrated in the name of liberty—many a noble man and woman has been burnt in the name of God—many a war has been waged in the name of justice.

There is great danger, too, grasping and unscrupulous as men generally are, particularly when in a passion, that they call that justice which is only self-interest. There is great danger that they dignify the most blood-thirsty ambition by that holy name; and, furnished with a pretext, wage, in the name of God, a war, with the objects and spirit of Satan himself. But let that pass; and let us suppose a case in which some palpable injustice has been committed towards us,—a downright injustice, without a shadow of excuse or provocation, and no negotiation or arbitration can reinstate us in our rights, or grant us compensation. A very strong case you will perceive, and all on one side. Past history rarely affords us such a case of pure, groundless, unprovoked injustice; and the spirit of modern times will hardly permit its occurrence. But suppose that it does occur; what is our alternative? what is the last appeal? The patriot cries, to arms! the last appeal is force. Justice at any sacrifice; our rights must be enforced by the argument of the bayonet. We must *take* what will not be bestowed. This may be the earnest position of a conscientious man, with no alloy of passion or improper motives, but in a righteous indignation at violated right. It *may* be. What shall we answer? Without stopping by the way to show, as we might do in numerous instances, that wars, undertaken with that motive, have failed to procure the right involved, or settle the mooted point, but have been followed by a peace that only restored both parties to the state in which they were before the war—thus proving that an appeal to force is by no means an infallible way of getting justice,—without dwelling on that interesting point, there is this simple answer to be made: in your attempt to secure justice, you are about to commit the grossest injustice within the ability of man. To establish your rights, unquestioned as they may be, you are about to commit more crimes, and violate more laws of God, than can be warranted by the establishment of any right or justice whatsoever. You are about to become, *in your turn*, most unjust and criminal; and however strongly public opinion may support you, however loudly the sweet voices of the mob may second the murderous charges of your steel, your so-called pursuit of justice is abominable and hideous in the sight of God, it violates the very fundamentals of the Gospel; it loads your soul with the weight of more crimes than the sense of gratified revenge, or even the establishment of your cause, can ever cancel, or atone for. Be assured, however good the thing for which you aim, you could not do worse things to get it, and therefore, you are not justified in your last argument of force.—Now, it is very true that the popular feeling, the popular pride, the whole tone of thought, the whole custom of the race, is dead against such a position as that; there have been times when a man's sanity was suspected for assuming it. But nevertheless, my friends, consider, with minds unclouded by the false fumes of glory, not inebriated by all the victories in the name of justice, consider. The last resort of war breaks the sacredest laws of God: it turns men into beasts: it murders, it ravages, it inflicts many shades of misery, it subverts the whole system of moral order. The cool obedience of the soldier compromises the parties to the deepest atrocities that are ever committed in the foulest causes; it covers with blood every page of the Gospel. Is your pursuit of justice worth that sacrifice? Can such an alliance with that which is earthly establish that which is heavenly? No; the better sense, the calmer moments, of all mankind, answer, No.—The free, unprejudiced intellect of the race will abhor the sacrifice, and substitute the Christian position,—justice, at any expense of time, of money, of patience, of forbearance, of smiting and reviling; but no justice,—rather the endurance of injustice,—than the commission of outrageous crimes.

In conclusion: all social and public, as well as private matters, depend upon this point: can a good end ever justify evil means? can a considerable good ever justify a partial compromise of conscience? and it is a principle of our religion, seen by all of us in our moments of sanity, that it cannot. The race retrogrades instead of advancing, when it gains anything by unjust means, because to do so involves injustice. Its material aggrandizement will poorly balance its moral deterioration. Its available men and measures will themselves execute judgment upon a violated sense of right. If some law of God has been repealed, we are not at liberty, on pretence of righting matters, to repeal His far greater and more stringent laws. We are in no case, whether the end be great or small, at liberty to stifle the faintest whisper of our conscience. Is not this a plain and righteous principle; does it not exhaust the whole matter, and supply us with a test for all time? Can we tamper with it, and attempt to qualify it, and reason away its stringency, and escape its conditions, without subverting all principle, destroying the difference between right and wrong, and leaving every page of the Gospel at the mercy of a time-serving logic? No: we must put faith in that great principle of private conscience, hard as it is—yet all untried and dubious as its practice is. If it is a principle of Christ, we must apply it, come what may. Any man who pretends to believe in principles at all, cannot escape from that one, without levelling the fair fabric of moral order, and annulling every gift of God to the race. But generations will come who will find its practice easy and ennobling—a kingdom *in* this world, though not *of* it; but only on condition of *our* previous faith.

INSTINCTS OF THE BLIND.

A notice of the Life and Writings of Dr. Blacklock, by Mr. B. B. Bower, a blind man, of Massachusetts, contains the following curious passage respecting the ideas which the blind have of colours, and their notions of the beauty of form.—*New York Globe.*

I would state here for the benefit of the curious, that there is a *fancied* resemblance, at least, between colours and the tones of the human voice.—The lower tones correspond with the darker shades, the medium voice with the paler colours or the milder shades, and the higher tones or the head voice, with the brightest and most brilliant colours, as a bright red for example. The female voice, whose melodious tones can move the heart to deepest ecstacy, is a combination of the blue, the violet, and the pink. The masculine voice resembles the black, the green, and the red. These are variously compounded in different individuals. We hear, in the deep, rich tones of the Hon. Daniel Webster's voice, for example, the first two, or the black and red, or, if you please, dark and brilliant. In most persons, however, the medium or green voice predominates. Those who have what is called a squeaking voice, such as the celebrated John Randolph is said to have had, have the red predominant. The two extremes, when rightly combined, are the most agreeable to the ear. These remarks may seem crude, and to some even silly. We have made them however, for what they are worth. It seems to us the only way in which we can obtain the most remote idea of colours. For it is absurd to suppose that they would make use of their names without attaching to them any meaning—that they would repeat, parrot-like, just as children sometimes do, words, without attaching to them any definite idea. It may not generally be known that the blind attach to almost all physical objects some moral quality.—It of course depends upon the effect produced by different objects upon the mind through their other senses, or upon some idea which they have obtained from others. With the sun is connected the idea of greatness and magnificence. With the moon, amiability, benignity, &c.

The blind often display great discrimination and delicacy in distinguishing between those objects that are beautiful, and those that are of an opposite character. A highly polished object, if it be a perfect circle, is the most agreeable to the touch. A square is much less so. A line that is a little curved is much more pleasing than one that is perfectly straight. A marble column, for instance, that gradually tapers from the base to the apex, seems much more beautiful to the touch than one in which there is no variation. It will, perhaps, be said that the blind think the pyramid the most beautiful because it is more secure, because the centre of gravity is near the base. It will, however, be found by experiment, that it is not this that influences their decision. If you take two models, the pyramid and the pyramid reversed, securing the latter upon its apex, so as to appear to the touch equally firm as the other, and then allow a blind child to examine each, he will tell you that the first is by far the most beautiful, though he may be entirely ignorant of attraction and its effects. And though he may not be able to assign any reason for his opinion, he will insist upon his preference for the pyramid. This, as well as many other facts which we might give, goes to show, we think conclusively, that our idea of the beautiful is not, as many have supposed, derived from considerations of utility, associations, education, &c. (though these, without doubt, exert a great influence in developing and modifying it,) but that we have within us an innate perception which at once discriminates between those qualities or attributes of objects which we designate by the terms beauty and deformity. It may, perhaps, seem singular that the blind should have a marked preference for any style of architecture. Yet it will be found that they do. And what seems more wonderful, they uniformly manifest a decided preference for the Gothic over all others.—The only way in which we can explain this, is that they are influenced by the poetical associations connected with the ages in which Gothic architecture had its origin. As the blind are more susceptible to the emotions of beauty than of sublimity, it might naturally be thought that they would be more agreeably affected with the light, graceful, and delicate Corinthian, than with the more heavy, dark, and sombre Gothic style.*

* A blind man of Troy, N. Y. had a legacy left him, on condition that it should be appropriated to the building of a house, which should serve as his future home. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, he insisted upon having it built in the Gothic style, or as near as it could be, although one might have been erected, in the ordinary way, at much less expense and far more convenient. The blind man, however, insisted upon having his taste gratified, and he has now the satisfaction of knowing that he has the most singular house in the city, and that it attracts the attention of every one by its singular appearance. Thus do those that have no eyes prove that they have taste and vanity as well as the rest of mankind.

From the British Friend.

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JOHN PEMBERTON was perhaps 5 feet 8 inches in height and of broad shoulders. At the time of this confinement he was spare of flesh, but towards the close of his life he became quite corpulent. He had little beauty of feature, but with his prominent nose and chin, and deep sunken mouth, he had a strongly marked face. There, even the thoughtless might read, of strength of character, modified by Christian meekness,—determination, under subjection to the cross.

A singular anecdote relative to the banished Friends is related, which gives evidence of kind feeling in Timothy Matlack, then one of the most fiery pesecutors of Friends, though it does not speak highly of his probity and integrity. Owen Jones, the elder, was an active member in the Society of Friends, and was one of those who had been rendered prominent by their opposition to bloodshed. He was denounced by the Executive Committee, and an order was granted for his arrest with the others. He had been kind to Timothy, and that kindness being now remembered, saved him from a tedious banishment from his family and friends.—Timothy was secretary to the committee, and when drawing out the warrants or orders for arrest he added "*junior*" to the name of Owen Jones.—This act saved an old man, but sent a young one into banishment, who had not even been amongst the suspected.

We have spoken of the Pemberton character.—John and his two brothers, Israel and James, were naturally of quick, high temper. Yet even those of them who had it least completely in subjection, were generally not slow in feeling condemnation for giving way to it, and in acknowledgment and contrition therefor. An anecdote which I have often heard related by one who knew and admired the brothers, sets forth a little the natural impatience of one of them, his quick punishment, and ready perception of his error. He was riding in his chair, below the city of Philadelphia, in the peninsula between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, generally known to the citizens as "The Neck."—His horse slowly trotted along a narrow lane until its onward way was checked by a cow lying full across the road. As the cow did not stir to make way for the horse, the driver exerted his voice and smacked his whip to make her move, but the contented creature continued her position, quietly chewing her cud. He could not drive around her,—he was not disposed to get out of his vehicle,—and his continued shouts failed to produce in the cow any indication of intended movement. His patience at length failed him,—he struck his horse with his whip, determined if the animal would not rise, he would ride over her. The horse with a leap readily cleared the cow, but this act roused her; and as the wheel struck her body, she suddenly elevated her hind quarters, turned the chair fairly on to its side, and caused the irritated man to pitch forward into a fence corner. He sprang to his feet, and though the whole had been effected in a minute, conviction had already seized him. His first words were, "She served me right!"—Those who give way to the impulses of passions, are very apt to witness an overthrow; and many a one under such an impulse has attempted as foolish exploits as driving over lazy old cows. The attempt to some has resulted in far worse consequences than soiled garments and a few flesh bruises.

John Pemberton was a grandson of Phineas Pemberton, one of the worthy settlers of Pennsylvania. He came hither in 1682, and was for a time clerk of the Yearly Meeting. He left a narrative of his life, of which the portion preserved in the handwriting of his grandson John is very interesting.—Whilst he was an apprentice to a Friend in Manchester, England, in the year 1669, being then twenty years of age, the following incident occurred. Being in his master's shop attending to customers, a lovely child about nine years of age came in, in company with her mother. The little girl had cherries in her apron; and looking on Phineas who was standing with a fellow apprentice, she said to her mother, "I have a mind to give one of these young men some cherries." Her mother said, "Then give to both." She replied, "No; I will give but to one." Phineas says, "Through the crowd of people that then stood before the counter she pressed,—holding out her hand with cherries for me before I was well aware. I admired that a child I knew not, should offer me such kindness. On inquiry [I] remembered I had heard her name, and retained her kindness at the same time with a paper of brown candy." At the expiration of two years she came again to the store door, with her mother, but this time from bashfulness, or some other cause, she did not venture in. Phineas writes, "then again I remembered her kindness, but saw not her face." Another two years passed, and the young man now twenty-four years of age, went to Bolton to engage in trade for himself. In that neighbourhood the parents of Phebe Harrison, the unforgotten little cherry girl lived. The narrative continues: "After I was come there and had settled awhile, and took notice of her discreet and modest behaviour, and features, and personage, I then was taken with her. She appeared very lovely in my eye, though then quite young, and because of this I suppressed my affection for a time." "But more and more love increased in me toward her, until I could not conceal it. I then remembered the beginnings thereof, as already mentioned. Her parents and friends were very respectful to it; but because of her tender years, it was still delayed until she was of riper age."

From Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper.

THE IRISH DEPUTATION.

On Monday, the Irish deputation, consisting of Messrs. Smith O'Brien, O'Gorman, Meagher, and O'Reilly, with a few other persons who joined them there, were received by M. Lamartine, at the Hotel de Ville. Mr. Smith O'Brien read the address of the people of Ireland; Mr. O'Gorman that of the trades of the city of Dublin; and Mr. Meagher that of the inhabitants of Manchester; an address from Liverpool was also read. M. Lamartine replied to all in the following speech:—

"*Citizens of Ireland,*

"If we required a fresh proof of the pacific influence of the proclamation of the great democratic principle—this new Christianity, bursting forth at the opportune moment, and dividing the world, as formerly, into a Pagan and Christian community, we should assuredly discern the proof of the powerful action of an idea in you, visits spontaneously paid to this city to Republican France, and principles which animate her, by the nations, or by sections of the nations, of Europe.

"We are not astonished to see to-day a deputation from Ireland. Ireland knows how deeply her destinies, her sufferings, and her successive advances in the path of religious liberty, of unity, and of constitutional equality with the other parts of the United Kingdom, have at all times moved the heart of Europe!

"We said as much, a few days ago, to another deputation of your fellow-citizens. We said as much to all the children of that glorious isle of Erin, which the natural genius of its inhabitants, and the striking events of its history, render equally symbolical of the poetry and the heroism of the nations of the North.

"Rest assured, therefore, that you will find in France, under the Republic, a response to all the sentiments which you express towards it.

"Tell your fellow-citizens that the name of Ireland is synonymous with the name of liberty courageously defended against privilege—that it is one common name to every French citizen! Tell them that this reciprocity which they invoke—that this hospitality of which they are not oblivious—the Republic will be proud to remember, and to practise invariably towards the Irish. Tell them, above all, that the French Republic is not, and never will be, an aristocratic Republic, in which liberty is merely abused as a mask of privilege; but a Republic embracing the entire community, and securing to all the same rights and the same benefits. As regards other encouragements, it would neither be expedient for us to hold them out, nor for you to receive them. I have already expressed the same opinion with reference to Germany, Belgium, and Italy; and I repeat with reference to every nation which is involved in internal disputes, which is either divided against itself or at variance with its Government, where there is a difference of race—where nations are aliens in blood—intervention is not allowable. We belong to no party in Ireland or elsewhere, except to that which contends for justice, for liberty, and for the happiness of the Irish people; no other part would be acceptable to us in a time of peace, in the interests and the passions of the foreign nations. France is desirous of reserving herself free for the maintenance of the rights of all.

"We are at peace, and we are desirous of remaining on good terms of equality, not with this or that part of Great Britain, but with Great Britain entire. We believe this peace to be useful and honourable, not only to Great Britain and the French Republic, but to the human race. We will not commit an act, we will not utter a word, we will not breathe an insinuation, at variance with the principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the continent of Europe is already gathering the fruits. The fallen monarchy had treaties and diplomatists. Our diplomatists are nations—our treaties are sympathies! We should be insane were we openly to exchange such a diplomacy for unmeaning and partial alliances with even the most legitimate parties in the countries which surround us. We are not competent even to judge them, or to prefer some of them to others; by announcing our partisanship of the one side, we should declare ourselves the enemies of the other. We do not wish to be the enemies of any of your fellow-countrymen. We wish, on the contrary, by a faithful observance of Republican pledges, to remove the prejudices which may mutually exist between our neighbours and ourselves.

"This course, however painful it may be, is imposed on us by the law of nations, as well as by our historical remembrances.

"Do you know what it was which most served to irritate France and estrange her from England during the first Republic? It was the civil war in a portion of our territory, supported, subsidized, and assisted by Mr. Pitt. It was the encouragement and the arms given to Frenchmen, as heroical as yourselves, but Frenchmen fighting against their fellow-citizens. This was not honourable warfare. It was a Royalist propagandism waged with French blood against the Republic. This policy is not yet, in spite of all our efforts, entirely effaced from the memory of the nation. Well, this cause of dissension between Great Britain and us, we will never renew by taking any similar course. We accept with gratitude expressions of friendship from different nationalities included in the British empire. We ardently wish that justice may found and strengthen the friendship of races; that equality may become more and more its basis; but while proclaiming with you, with her (England) and with all, the holy dogma of fraternity, we will perform only acts of brotherhood, in conformity with our principles, and our feelings towards the Irish nation." (Cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" "*Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire!*" "*Vive Lamartine!*")

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

A SHORN PATRIOT.—"A scene took place at one of the most violent of the democratic clubs here a few evenings ago (writes the *Chronicle* correspondent) which is rather characteristic of the mixed gaiety and ferocity of the French character. An ardent Republican, in addressing the meeting, with more than ordinary violence, worked himself up to such a pitch of rage against aristocrats, monarchists, and conspirators against the Republic, that he at length exclaimed, 'The Republic will not be safe till at least 300,000 heads have fallen.' This proposition was received with loud murmurs, and cries of 'Turn him out!' but at length one of the members rose and said, 'The sentiment is a noble and patriotic one. I should like to have a look of that citizen's hair.' Loud applause followed, and the lock of hair was promptly in the hands of the demander. Presently another admirer of patriotism expressed a wish for a portion of the citizen's locks, and hundreds followed The end of it was, that the ardent Democrat, who was so anxious for 300,000 aristocratic heads, was turned out of the meeting without a single hair on his own."

THE REV. MR. MATHEW.—Dr. Sheil, a temperance enthusiast, wrote to Father Mathew, requesting an address from him to the Irish people in these heated times. The following is the reply of the Rev. Mr. Mathew:—"Cork, March 23.—My Dear Doctor,—It is unnecessary for me to issue the proclamation you advise. My sentiments are sufficiently known; and I have done more, and that successfully, for the peace and quiet of Ireland than any other living man. Her Majesty's ministers, especially the Irish Government have the strongest proof of this assertion. The calm and sobriety that prevailed in our wretched country on St. Patrick's day, notwithstanding the threats of the disaffected, bore the strongest testimony to the blessed results of my labours. The police reports demonstrate the almost incredible fewness of committals for drunkenness on that ever-memorable day. The Most Rev Dr. M'Hale must be convinced that the temperance movement has lost none of its vitality by the official patronage conferred on me.' I am, with high respect, dear Dr Sheil, yours affectionately, THEOBALD MATHEW. To John Sheil, Esq. M. D.

ADDRESS OF DE BERANGER.—We have stated that Beranger had declined being a candidate for the department of the Seine. In an address to the electors, he says: "Do not fear me from that solitude in which, collected within myself, I have seemed to you to have acquired the gift of prophecy. I am not one of those who have need to cry aloud in the market-places, 'I am a patriot! I am a Republican!' But you may tell me that I ought to show my devotion. Ah, my dear fellow-citizens, do not forget how much ambition may be concealed under this word devotion. True, active, useful devotion, is that which teaches us to undertake only those things of which we know ourselves to be capable. To any accusation of egotism, I shall leave my whole life to answer. Let us come to the ideas which I may have entertained in my retirement for bringing to a good end the great work of democracy, which God has imposed upon France, for the benefit of the other nations, who are her well-beloved sisters. It may again become necessary for you to have your courage revived, your hopes reanimated. You would then regret your having stifled under honours the little voice still left to me. Leave me to die as I have lived, and do not transform into an inefficient legislator your friend the old ballad maker.

A scandalous affair has been brought to light which causes a very painful degree of excitement in the world of the *gens de lettres*. In the *Moniteur* of Monday a document is published, which was found among the papers left by M. Genie, the secretary of M. Guizot, at the office of Foreign Affairs. It is a report from M. Bouchy, the Procureur du Roi, to the Minister of Justice with respect to some charges brought against M. Libri, a well-known member of the Institute, and a professor of the University, for stealing books from the public libraries. M. Libri was in the confidence of M. Guizot and M. Duchatel. He was frequently employed by these two ministers to make researches in the public libraries, and he had consequently access to all the most valuable collections in France, and he took the opportunity thus afforded him of abstracting valuable works from the libraries in Paris, Carpentras, Montpellier, the Chartreuse at Grenoble, and other places, to the amount, it is calculated, of between three and four hundred thousand francs. Several of the works have been sold by public auction in Paris, and some of them have found their way to the British Museum. A manuscript Psalter, belonging to the Chartreuse at Grenoble, was part of the stolen goods, and was purchased by an eminent collector in London for £280. What makes the affair still more curious is, that M. Libri was the intimate friend, visitor, and confidant of M. Guizot up to the very last; although M. Guizot must have been fully aware of the suspicions against him, for the Government was in possession of information on the subject more than two years ago. The *exposé* of this affair has created a very painful sensation, and the sensation is almost as much that of regret for the injury it does to the reputation of M. Guizot, as for the disgrace with which it stamps M. Libri himself. M. Libri got a hint of the discovery from an acquaintance of his, who now holds a high office in the department of Foreign Affairs. He immediately effected his escape from France, and is now in England.

With respect to the elections to the National Assembly, the question turns upon the degree or amount of republican feeling that will enter, and be brought into operation in the Assembly. I have of late mixed with capable persons of all political biases, and I find them agreed as to the expediency and absolute necessity of supporting the form of government that exists, and of endowing France with republican institutions. Monarchy, that had been weighed in the balance and found wanting during three successive reigns, (not to speak of the hundred days), is admitted to have been used up, and to become obsolete in France, which must in future be ruled by those purely democratical institutions, after which she has been so long yearning, and which the state of society and property in this country requires. This is the view taken by the members of the old Chamber of Deputies in their addresses, to the new constituencies. M. Dupin, the late private legal adviser of the Orleans family, in soliciting the suffrages of his former constituents of Nevers, says that the only thing now to be done, is to bestow on France such a republican constitution that the revolution of February shall be the last. The leading members of the Legitimist party are also acting as if their cause were defunct, and as if there were nothing for it but a frank and hearty adhesion to the powers that be.—*Douglas Jerrold's Letters.*

PARIS, APRIL 6.—Whoever knows anything of the manifestations in Britain previous to the Reform Bill, and during the first election after it, or the scenes that marked the period of O'Connell's *peaceable* agitation in Ireland, may well assert that, for some weeks past, the capital of the young Republic has been in a state of comparative quiet. Never were individuals more safe from injury or insult, and property more respected. The aspect of the streets and promenades, with their moving crowds, is as bustling and animated as ever. In the Champs Elysees and Bois de Boulogne fewer patrician equipages indeed catch the eye, many of their owners having this season taken themselves off a little earlier than usual to their chateaux, there to lament, as may be, an extinct royalty, and the loss of their ancestral dignities. If anything, Paris has been more lively and exhilarating in its exterior since the new Government was installed. Processions there have been in abundance—trees of liberty planted in every square and carrefour—now and then a partial illumination has sent forth its glare and the *Marseillaise* has been chaunted in the streets. These, and the like ebullitions of popular excitement, while they produce no feeling of alarm, tend to give a favourable idea of a population, among which there is much present suffering, that conducts itself so inoffensively at a time when a Government can be said to exist only by sufferance. I at times ask myself if the inhabitants of our great towns would be found dem